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Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai (1012-1051) and the representation of authority in the Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium

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Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai (1012-1051) and the
Representation of Authority in the *Gesta episcoporum*
Cameracensium.

submitted by

Theo Martin Riches

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to

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the circumstances of the composition of *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* and the impact of those circumstances on the text's depiction of religious and political authority. The first chapter examines the background of the commissioner of the work, Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras (1012-1051). It reassesses his relationship to the house of Ardennes and examines his background within a reforming church. The view is developed that analysis in terms of dichotomies (pro- vs anti-reform, conservative secular vs reforming radical) inappropriately reads the polarities of the Investiture Contest back onto an earlier period. Instead, the image painted here is one where the specifics of reform are argued out, but as part of a shared reforming culture.

The second chapter describes the surviving parts of the autograph manuscript and demonstrates that the *Gesta* was reworked after Gerard's death. It goes on to argue that the disjointed, episodic style of medieval historical narrative is not (just) symptomatic of a world-view that ascribes causation ultimately to God, but also allows the author to preserve his message in the face of a manuscript technology that excerpts works to make others.

The third chapter deals with Gerard's expression of the Three Orders theory of society and his relationship with the so-called Peace of God. It shows that rather than being a reaction to widespread social upheaval, the views ascribed to Gerard are part of rearguard defenses by two Cambrai authors during the political crises of 1024-25 and 1044-54.

The final chapter demonstrates that the original *Gesta* author's animosity towards West Francia is not to be understood in nationalistic terms, but 'regnal' ones. It shows that the ascription of moral failings to individuals and entire peoples is an attempt to maintain the integrity of the aristocratic polity and the class-state.

INTRODUCTION

In August 1023, the Emperor Henry II and King Robert the Pious of West Francia¹ met at Mouzon, and subsequently Ivois, on the borders of their respective kingdoms.² They discussed, it is said, the *status imperii*, which included spiritual as well as temporal matters: the peace of the holy church of God and how to strengthen the Christian religion. (A further meeting was planned for the following year in Italy to include the pope, but was stymied by Henry's death in June 1024.) As was appropriate, the meeting of the king and emperor was splendid indeed. Our most detailed source, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, tells us that the 'dukes and satraps of many nations', as well as crowds of the greatest and most illustrious men and bishops and abbots streamed to the place. Many people apparently came just to gaze upon Henry, whose reputation stood so high. The anonymous author is proud to relate the events since his patron, Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras (1012-51), had, by his own account, played a particularly prominent part. He and his collaborator in monastic

¹ In this terminology I follow the argument of Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland – Frankreich. Die Geburt zweier Völker* 2nd ed. (Cologne, 1995). whereby the French and German polities do not become aware of themselves as distinct until the late eleventh century. But for a contrary view, which dates the birth of French (but not German) self-identity to the tenth century, see Bernd Schneidmüller, *Karolingische Tradition und frühes Französisches Königtum: Untersuchungen zur Herrschaftslegitimation der westfränkisch-französischen Monarchie im 10. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1979).

² Strictly speaking, Mouzon was in imperial territory and Ivois in West Frankish. The alternation produced a venue as close as possible to neutrality without having to meet in the middle of a river, as the two rulers seem to have done in 1006: see Ingrid Voss, *Herrschartreffen im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zu den Begegnungen der ostfränkischen und westfränkischen Herrscher im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert sowie der deutschen und französischen Könige vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Beiheft zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 26, Cologne, 1987), pp.65-68. That neutrality was striven after may well be indicative of Robert's strength at this time; see below, pp.154-167. Certainly Otto I would have been unlikely to have tolerated the equality the arrangements imply, or to have needed to do so. The *Gesta* author attributes Henry's willingness to come to Robert as an expression of humility, but this may be special pleading.

reform, Abbot Richard of St-Vanne, had been at Robert's court in May of that year, apparently to help organise the August meeting. The author is at pains to point out that Henry had thought it most fitting to meet at Ivois, the birthplace of the patron saint of Cambrai, St Gaugeric,³ since the summit was to take place around his festival on the 10th of August (the two met first at Mouzon on the 8th, the feast of St Lawrence, and then at Ivois on the 11th). We are also told that Gerard joined Henry, as well as Pilgrim, Archbishop of Cologne, and Duke Godfrey of Lower Lotharingia, in giving Robert gifts. Robert also gave gifts in return but allegedly Henry sent them all back bar a tooth of St Vincent (since he did not want to appear ungrateful or untouched). In addition the Emperor loaded all the bishops, abbots and magnates with presents so that almost no-one left empty-handed. All those who had come to see the magnificence of the Emperor were amazed by what they saw and said they had seen much more than rumour had led them to expect. 'I dare place no king of either Persians or Arabs on a par with this man [i.e. Henry]', the *Gesta* author writes, 'Although I have read that they exceed all peoples in wealth.'⁴

³ For the purposes of clarity, I will anglicise the Latin names when referring to saints, but use the modern forms when referring to religious communities consecrated to them: thus, St Gaugeric (but the community of canons of St-Géry), St Vedast (but the abbey of St-Vaast).

⁴ 'Hinc [i.e. Aachen] autem imperator egressus, ad Evosium villam pulcherrimam, quam beati videlicet Gaugerici nativitas illustravit, cum primoribus quidem suorum palatinorum intendit, ibi scilicet cum Rotberto rege colloquium habiturus, sed et de statu imperii, ac non tantum de mundanis verum de spiritualibus locuturus; sapienter quippe disposito, ut in eo loco, ubi beatissimum Gaugericum noverat ortum, ejus gaudiosam festivitatem, quae 3. Idibus Augusti est, celebrare veniret. Qui nimirum quanto major tanto humilior, regi Rotberto, cum ad se veniret, in villa Mosomo in die festo sancti Laurentii occurrere estimavit; in crastino vero sancti Gaugerici venientem ad se cum summa veneratione suscepit. Hoc autem tam speciale colloquium et tantae solemnitatis conventum non est meae parvitatibus evolvere; ubi quidem diversarum nationum duces ac satrapae, ubi summorum et illustrium virorum, tam episcoporum videlicet quam et abbatum, in numero confluxere personae. Ad hoc autem plurimi convenerunt, ut dignitatem imperatoriam mirarentur, quam tantopere fama laudabat. Ibi certe pacis et justitiae summa diffinitio mutuaeque amicitiae

It was in the same year as this summit that Gerard was able to begin the rebuilding of his cathedral.⁵ It was also shortly after this meeting that he commissioned a new *Vita* of St Gaugeric from the same author as the man from whom he would, in 1024-25, demand and receive the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, a history of the deeds of the bishops of Cambrai and Arras.⁶ And it is in turn from this history that I have uncritically culled the above account of the Mouzon/Ivois summit. Yet if the author's breathless orientalisising of his subject were not enough, the coincidence of activities on the part of his superior around these years should alert us to the fact that the *Gesta* is not objective reportage (even if there were such a thing). It was written in a very specific context and that context is certain to have shaped if not fully determined the way the events are depicted. Surprisingly, such a study of this source has not been undertaken. The text has been dated on the grounds of

facta reconciliatio; ibi quoque diligentissime de pace sanctae Dei aecclesiae maxime tractatum est, et quomodo Christianitati, quae tot lapsibus patet, melius subvenire deberent. Exin vero sese invicem consulentes, ubinam iterum conventuri domnum etiam apostolicum una cum tam citra quam ultra Alpinis episcopis secum habeant, nusquam aptius quam Papiae decernunt. His ita gestis, cum ab invicem discedere debuissent, ac vero quis tanta ac tanti ponderis munera sufficienter poterit estimare, quibus vicissim imperator regem donavit, ab archiepiscopo videlicet Coloniensium et a domno Gerardo episcopo, sed et a duce Godefrido simul oblatis? Rex imperatorem donare cupiens, quaecumque potuit munera ut susciperet praesentavit. Qui omnibus cum gratiarum actione remissis, utpote ditissimus, dentem tantummodo sancti Vincentii martiris, ne immunis videretur, retinuit. Nec solum autem imperator regem putavit donandum, verum etiam omnes tam episcopos quam abbates, sed et majores quosque preciosis muneribus accumulans, nullum poene indonatum reliquit. Quicumque ergo illuc convenerant imperatoriam magnificentiam cognituri, mirati profecto quae viderant, dicebant se plura vidisse quam rumor fuisset. Nullum enim regem aut Persarum aut Arabum huic conferre audebo, quamvis eos cunctis gentibus opibus prestare legissem.' *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. L. Bethmann, *MGH SS VII* (Hanover, 1846) [henceforth *GeC*], III:37, p.480.

⁵ *GeC*, III:49, pp.483-84. But see below, pp.17-18.

⁶ There was a second redaction and continuation in 1051x55, followed by successive continuations: see E. van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek omtrent de datering van de *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* LIII 2 (1975), 288-99 and below, pp.107-19.

content, but other than that the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* has been left unexamined as anything but a quarry for striking episodes like the one above. It is the purpose of this dissertation to fill this hole in the historiography. The circumstances of the commissioning of the *Gesta* are comparatively easy to list. What are less clear are firstly the circumstances of its composition, and secondly the effects of same on the surviving text. These two topics form the central questions of this thesis: how and under what circumstances was the *Gesta* composed; how should we change our interpretation of key episodes in the *Gesta* in the light of the resulting conclusions?

Cambrai-Arras

Gerard's episcopal seat was in Cambrai, which lay in the Empire, and it was the East Frankish king/emperor who had the right to appoint the bishop. Nevertheless, the diocese was ecclesiastically subject to Rheims in West Francia/France and its territory straddled the border between the Empire and France as established by the secession of Lotharingia to Henry I of East Francia in 925. In the East the diocese comprised the archdeaconries of Cambrésis, Hainault, Brabant, Valenciennes and Antwerp, in the West those of Artois and Ostrevant, west and north of the city of Cambrai respectively.⁷ There were three significant urban centres: Cambrai itself, Arras in the Artois and Douai in Ostrevant. In addition the emperors developed three marcher fortresses along the river Schelde: Valenciennes, Eename and Antwerp.

⁷ These areas were also sometimes equivalent to counties, but this is not consistently so: the terms *pagus* and *comitatus* are not interchangeable, and neither necessarily matches the territorial responsibility of a given *comes*. See below, p.41, esp. n.8.

Geographically, Cambrai is situated on the edge of a chalk-loess plateau, ideal for crops but largely treeless and waterless. The plateau drops to the north of Cambrai, but before it begins its final descent into the Flemish coastal plain, it rises into a swell. The result is that Cambrai and Flanders were screened from each other by swamp. The situation changed somewhat however in our period. The early medieval river 'Sate', flowing north-east through the northern suburb of Arras, had originally turned south-east at the chalk swell creating a wide marsh. At some point in the tenth or early eleventh centuries, a channel was cut through the swell. This diverted the 'Sate' through Douai, partially draining the swamp and creating a number of narrow and fortifiable crossing points (Arleux, Palluel and especially L  cluse).⁸ For centuries the shift from dry plateau to wet lowland has proven militarily significant. Gerard's successor, Lietbert, was to lose the support of Henry IV against John, advocate of Arras, because the emperor needed the advocate's help to take the fortress at L  cluse.⁹ In later centuries, the medieval diversion of the 'Sate' (now called the Scarpe) could be blocked and the marshes deliberately flooded to prevent an army's passage. Finally, in 1914 the retreating German army chose Cambrai as the place to stand and fight: British soldiers reported that captured German trenches were deeper, sturdier and drier than their own lower down outside Arras.¹⁰ But more importantly for an appreciation of developments in our period, the elevation differential represented an shift in economic potential. As Dietrich Lohrmann has been able to demonstrate, the abbots

⁸ The Sate thereby connected with the Scarpe which originally ended north of Douai. The new, longer river which ran through Douai has kept the name Scarpe to this day, whereas the name 'Sate' was forgotten. Strictly speaking, it is incorrect to say that either Arras or Douai lay on the Scarpe before the diversion.

⁹ Dietrich Lohrmann, 'M  hlenbau, Schiffahrt und Flussumleitungen im S  den der Grafschaften Flandern-Artois (10.-11. Jahrhundert)', *Francia* XII (1984), 152; and see below, pp.22-23.

¹⁰ John Keegan, *The First World War* (London, 1998), pp.191-95.

of St-Vaast in Arras and the counts of Flanders in Douai were able to develop the waterways of the respective cities both as lucrative sources of toll revenue and as areas of industrial development with the construction of several mills.¹¹ In this process, Cambrai was left quite literally high and dry.

Arras was founded on the Crinchon river and was the oldest of the cities. It took its name after the *Atrebates*, a Belgian tribe of the area mentioned in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*.¹² Arras was also listed by Jerome alongside Mainz, Rheims, Amiens, Tournai, Thérouanne, Speyer, Strasbourg and Narbonne as one of the cities which had suffered under the incoming barbarians. The accuracy of this information is less important than the fact that Jerome saw the fall of Arras as an episode that might mean something to his correspondent, a widow called Geruchia.¹³ Arras was allegedly refounded as a bishopric by St Vedast in the first half of the sixth century, at the instigation of St Remigius and Clovis.¹⁴ Although it did not stay as a bishopric for very much longer, it continued to be an important town largely because of the abbey of St-Vaast. The abbey was founded across the river Crinchon from the old Roman city in the mid-seventh century by Bishop Autbert

¹¹ Lohrmann, 'Mühlenbau, Schifffahrt', 149-92.

¹² C. Julius Caesar, *Commentatorium I, Libri VII de Bello Gallico*, R. L. du Pontet (ed.), (Oxford, 1900), II:4, 16, 23; IV:21; V:46; VII:75; VIII:7, 47. The story in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, I:2, p.403, about Duke Comeus, betrays interesting differences to that in *De Bello Gallico* IV:21. Whereas the *Gesta* has Comus as defending Arras against Caesar and proving his valour to the extent that Caesar makes him a commander, the original simply has him as the man whom Caesar made king (*rex*) of the *Atrebates*.

¹³ Jerome, *Ad Geruchiam de Monogamia*, Isidor Hilberg (ed.), *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, vol.56 (Vienna, 1996), no.123, p.92. This too was used by the *Gesta* author, who was transmitting it from Flodoard of Rheims, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, Martina Stratmann (ed.), *MGH SS XXXVI* (Hannover, 1998), I:6, p.77; *GeC*, I:5, p.405.

¹⁴ Gregory of Tours, *Historiarum X*, Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRG I* (Hanover, 1837), II:42, pp.92-93.

when he translated the bones of St Vedast out of the old, then-obsolete cathedral. The success of the abbey meant that the centre of the city shifted. Where previously it had been concentrated where the old Roman settlement and the cathedral had been (Arras-Cité), instead the area around the abbey (Arras-Ville) gained in importance. Arras-Ville was fortified against the Normans in the ninth century and the abbey ran a market there by 868. It had jurisdiction over the area within the more recent walls, encompassed by the parish of St-Peter's. The other parishes were under episcopal oversight as normal.¹⁵ Royal coins were minted in Arras up to the time of Charles *Simplex*, but after 932 the abbey was effectively in the hands of the counts of Flanders. During this period minting continued, but this time of non-specific *Gratia Dei rex* coins. The only exception is the period 966-988 when the city and abbey were back in royal control and we find coins of Lothar and Hugh Capet. The abbots of St-Vaast encouraged people to settle next to their *castrum*,¹⁶ and exempted all the men 'de censu Sancti Vedasti' from paying toll.¹⁷ The programme seems to have been so successful that by 1024 Abbot Leduin found himself having to restrict that exemption to only those men of St Vedast of the second generation.¹⁸ Naturally the independence of such a powerful and wealthy abbey from the bishop's control and the frequent success of the counts of Flanders in bringing it under theirs created tensions with the bishop in Cambrai.

¹⁵ Jean Lestocquoy, 'Les étapes du développement urbain d'Arras', in *idem.*, *Etudes d'histoire urbaine. Villes et abbayes. Arras au Moyen Age* (Arras, 1966), 131.

¹⁶ It seems to be these settlements that the forged charter of Vindician is referring to when it tries to exclude the *villulae* around Arras from the jurisdiction of the bishop; see p.74, n.123.

¹⁷ Fernand Vercauteren, *Étude sur les civitates de la Belgique seconde. Contribution à l'histoire urbaine du nord de la France de la fin du IIIe à la fin du XIe siècle* (Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, collection in 8° 33, Brussels, 1934, repr. Hildesheim/New York, 1974). pp.197-200.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.202.

According to the *Gesta*, these reached a peak in the late tenth century under the abbacy of Fulrad. We have some corroborating evidence of this from the so-called *Chronicon Vedastinum*, a compilation of various historical works with many St-Vaast-related additions including an alleged charter of the seventh-century bishop of Cambrai Vindician guaranteeing the abbey's immunity.¹⁹ Apparently Gerard was only able to eject Fulrad from his position with the help of Baldwin IV of Flanders. According to the *Gesta*, the ejection of Fulrad was followed by a series of abbots belonging to the circle of Richard of St-Vanne and therefore at least theoretically better-disposed to Gerard. Certainly Richard was responsible for an enormous expansion in the abbey and city's industrial capacity, with the construction of no fewer than 11 new mills and the reclamation and improvement of 4 more. Nonetheless, he and the other abbots of St-Vaast acted in such a way first and foremost to benefit their monastery. Thus we know that despite the warm relations between the cathedral in Cambrai and the abbey in Arras after Fulrad's expulsion, Gerard had conceded the immunity in question by 1031. Gerard may have been more willing to concede such rights when they were to go to friends and allies, but there was probably tension even then. He was after all conceding the rights to the institution in perpetuity, not to his allies as such.²⁰

¹⁹ The *Chronicon* is published in: G. Waitz (ed.), *MGH SS XIII* (Hanover, 1881), pp.674-709; the pseudo-Vindician is at pp.697-98, and I have checked the text against the MS Douai BM 795, ff.67^v-69^v. For a full discussion of the St-Vaast immunity, see Jean François Lemarignier, 'L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne. Appendice. Note sur deux apocryphes fabriqués à Saint-Vaast d'Arras entre 988-992 et 1004 (probablement vers 994-995)', in *A Cluny. Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints abbés Odon et Odilon 9-11 juillet 1949* (Dijon, 1950), pp.335-40. Although it should be noted that its dating to the time of Fulrad relies partly on the account of the *Gesta*. The danger of circular argumentation is evident.

²⁰ For a fuller discussion of this, see below, p.74, n.123.

Cambrai, on the upper Schelde, was originally a city of much lesser importance. It is mentioned in the *Gesta regum francorum* as having been taken by the Frankish leader Clodio.²¹ After this, the city's history is dark until Clovis gave the city to his cousin Ragnachar, but the latter rebelled and forced Clovis, so Gregory of Tours wrote, to reconquer the city for himself. It was under Clovis's patronage that Vedast was sent to Arras. Although a second redactor of the *Gesta* seems to have wanted his audience to believe that Vedast also proselytised Cambrai, in fact there is no evidence that Cambrai played much of a part in diocesan life until St Gaugeric moved the diocese there sometime between 584 and 590. It was believed in the eleventh century that Arras and Cambrai had been two separate dioceses, but Lotte Kéry has been able to demonstrate that there is little evidence for that.²² The cathedral which had been in Arras seems to have been revived by the tenth century as a community of canons, and Hincmar of Rheims also believed that both Arras and Cambrai had been Roman *civitates* with their own bishops, and this seems to have been the origin of the misunderstanding that the two had once co-existed (a misunderstanding that would eventually lead to the two 'dioceses' splitting in 1094).²³

In any case, the *Gesta* tell us that the sixth-century Bishop Vedulf moved the diocese to Cambrai.²⁴ It was Vedulf's successor, Gaugeric, on the other hand, who was the first significant incumbent of the new episcopal city. According to the earliest version of

²¹ *Liber historiae francorum*, Bruno Krusch (ed.), *MGH SRG II* (Hanover, 1888), pp.245-46. In retelling this story, the *Gesta* claims the Romans in the city were already Christian: *GeC*, I:3, p.404.

²² Lotte Kéry, *Die Errichtung des Bistums Arras 1093/94* (Beiheft der Francia 33, Sigmaringen 1994), pp.211-25.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp.261-64, 219-20.

²⁴ *GeC*, I:12, p.407. Note however that this may simply be the *Gesta* author's attempt to reconcile the fact that the oldest *Acta* of Gaugeric has the saint being patronised by Vedulf already as bishop of Cambrai: see *Acta s. Gaugericus episcopi confessoris*, *AASS August II*, I:6, p.673B.

the *Acta Gaugerici*, written about 900, Gaugeric moved the diocese to Cambrai and destroyed a sacred wood on the nearby Mont-des-Boeufs, building a church to St Medard where he was buried and which later became a monastery.²⁵ The church seems to have been replaced by a different one dedicated to St Gaugeric in 863 under Bishop Theoderic (833-63).²⁶ By 878 at the latest it was a community of canons.²⁷ Just as Arras developed around two centres, so did Cambrai: the first in the original city around the cathedral, the second on the Mont-des-Boeufs around St-Géry. The second version of the *Vita Gaugerici* notes that there were already fairs at St-Géry, presumably every 11th August (the saint's festival) and 18th November (his translation).²⁸ St-Géry had been fortified, probably in the time of Charles the Bald, but although the *Gesta* claims that it needed rebuilding after the Hungarian attacks of 953, there is no archaeological trace of the tenth-century effort which must therefore have restricted itself to repairing the Carolingian defences.²⁹ Tales of woe on the part of the *Gesta* author were almost certainly designed to make his patron look good. It is especially noteworthy that he criticises unnamed governors of the community for driving it into ruin, yet these governors had been since 948 the bishops themselves, none of whom, bar one, is depicted badly in the *Gesta*.³⁰ This should alert us to the fact that we are dealing

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II:14, p.675A.

²⁶ *GeC*, I:49, p.418.

²⁷ *Pace* Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte, und Grossbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert. Vergleichende Studien zu den Kathedralstädten westlich des Rheins* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 43, Stuttgart, 1998), p.130, n.830.

²⁸ *Acta Gaugerici*, II:14 p.675A.

²⁹ *GeC*, I:75, pp.428-29, Bernard Florin, 'Les fouilles sur le Mont des Boeufs à Cambrai. 1982, 1983, 1984. Etat de la question', *Revue du Nord* LXVIII (1986), 380. It is nonetheless unclear whether the Carolingian fortifications date from the rebuilding of the church in 863 or its reconstruction after the Norse raid of 881.

³⁰ The exception is Berengar (956-962/3), who pursued rebels into the church of St-Géry and killed them; see *GeC*, I:83, p.432.

with a topos. Two nuggets of information that are presumably reliable are that at the time of writing the canons numbered 50, and that Gerard had made them eat communally.

One other significant church in Cambrai was that of St-Autbert. It had originally been a church of St-Peter in which Bishop Autbert had been buried. Precisely when it was rededicated is unclear – most likely by Theoderic since he is the first bishop we know to have been buried there. Its significance does not however lie in its size – it was only under Bishop Ansbert (965-71/2) that the church was endowed with eight canons,³¹ and although Bishop Erluin (995-1012) is said to have ordered the community of canons's expansion and granted it lands for the canons' upkeep, it remained small.³² Its significance lies in the fact that it was the burial place of four bishops: Autbert, Theoderic, Rotrad (879-87) and Ansbert, two of whom (Autbert and Theoderic) were considered saints.

The most important religious institution in the city was of course the cathedral with its chapter. This was the home institution of the author of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*. Although the *Gesta* repeatedly mention building works on the *monasterium* of St-Mary, Hirschmann is right to point out that the author is not interested in describing the day-to-day progression of those works and only mentions key moments.³³ This makes precise identification of which bishop did what and when a problem. We know nothing whatsoever of the Merovingian cathedral. It was presumably wooden or largely so and thus probably fell victim to the Danish attack of 881. In this year the *Annales S. Vedasti* mention that the Northmen attacked both Arras and Cambrai, and these raids may well have

³¹ *GeC*, I:88, p.433.

³² Compare *GeC*, I:113, p.450 and II:9, p.458.

³³ Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung*, p.134. Although it is unclear why the reference to a carpenter falling from the belltower necessarily means there was still construction going on in the time of Erluin (995-1012). The text refers only to the 'cementarius sive carpentarius, Helfridus nomine, exigente rei necessitate': *GeC*, II:1, p.455.

been as serious as the annals claim: although the descriptions of the slaughter and fire may have been exaggerated, in both cases the raiders are specifically said to have penetrated the city. A city taken by storm would expect to suffer the fate the *Annales S. Vedasti* portray. Even so, the destruction cannot have been complete since in 894, Bishop Dodilo (887-901x911) had been able to get a renewal of the cathedral's immunity from King Arnulf when he 'put before [the king's] eyes the privileges conceded by our predecessors of glorious memory, namely King Pippin and the Emperors Charles the Elder and Louis'.³⁴ A fire which did hit the cathedral archive is mentioned in a reconfirmation of a privilege granted by Zwentibold (895-900) which Bishop Stephen (901x911-34) acquired from Charles *Simplex* in 911.³⁵ I have found no other reference to this fire, and the text may be corrupt or Stephen may even have been conflating events to acquire a new privilege that had never existed. In any case, the *Gesta* attribute a major rebuilding programme to Dodilo, including expanding the walls and 'having built the community of Mary Mother of God'.³⁶ That Dodilo is said to have 'ritually consecrated' the *monasterium* demonstrates that the author is referring to the cathedral itself rather than just the chapter buildings. The *Gesta* mentions that work was still underway when Dodilo died. This is hardly unexpected, and we may assume that Dodilo had completed the eastern end of the church, where the altar

³⁴ 'vir venerabilis Dodilo, Cameracensis urbis episcopus, obtulit obtutibus nostris immunitates beatae memoriae antecessorum nostrorum, regis videlicet Pipini ac imperatorum Karoli Magni seu Ludowici', *GeC*, I:64, p.423.

³⁵ 'eadem civitate deflagrata, preceptum quoque voracibus flammis absumptum est', *GeC*, I:67, pp.424-25.

³⁶ 'Hic autem exstructis muris, menia urbis in tantum ampliavit, ut monasterium sancti Autberti, quod extra erat, infra murorum ambitum cohiberet. Monasterium etiam Dei genitricis Mariae aedificatum Kalendis Augusti sollemniter consecravit, tabulamque altaris argenteam, quam nostris diebus vidimus, scipsumque argenteum, quem diebus festis subdiaconi in manibus ferunt, calicem quoque, cum aliis quoque ornamentis aecclesiae fecit. ... Qui inter haec morte preventus, diem clausit, in ipsoque sanctae Mariae monasterio ad septemtrionalem plagam sepultus est.' *GeC*, I:65, p.424.

would have been. Such an interpretation would also fit the later references to the building work of Engrann (962/3-65), who is said to have expanded the *monasterium* to the West, and Rothard (980-95), who is said to have completed Engrann's work.

Gerard's work on the cathedral was more significant but equally difficult to decipher. There are three references, two from the original 1024-25 redaction of the *Gesta* and one from the difficult-to-date chapter III:49.³⁷ The first reference is to how Bishop John (866-79) had been buried in a church of the Holy Cross just to the south of the cathedral. The church had however collapsed on one side by the time of Gerard's episcopacy, and the rest was structurally unsound. Gerard is said to have decided to expand the cathedral 'up to' John's tomb and so therefore translated the bishop's body.³⁸ In the second book of the *Gesta*, the author tells us that 'recently' (*nuper*), Gerard wanted to expand the crypt and the 'head' of the church, in other words the east end built by Dodilo over 100 years previously. To fulfil his wish, he ordered that the old buildings be demolished from the foundations. The demolition work was allegedly so violent however that it almost toppled the belltower and a beam broke loose from the roof and smashed the altar to pieces. The author claims that the rebuild was 'almost complete' by the time he was writing (1024-25) but gives no start date. The *Chronicon S. Andreae Castri Cameracesii*, written c.1133, places the event in 1021.³⁹ While the *Chonicon S. Andreae* is reliant on the *Gesta* for much of its information, the date must either be a best guess, given the story told by the *Gesta*, or the author of the *Chronicon* is citing an independent tradition. These two pieces of information

³⁷ See below, pp.95-97. The beginning of the chapter seems to belong to the original redaction, but the second half is certainly from later.

³⁸ *GeC*, I:57, p421.

³⁹ *Chronicon s. Andreae Castri Cameracesii*, L. Bethmann (ed.), *MGH SS VII* (Hanover, 1846), pp.526-50. The cathedral construction is mentioned at I:8, p.528.

would be perfectly compatible – Gerard decided to rebuild the choir of the church in such a way as to include the old church of the Holy Cross – if it were not for chapter III:49. Here it is claimed that on his arrival, Gerard had already decided that the cathedral buildings were too small and old, and thought he saw a crack in the stones, but he had been prevented from starting work until 1023, two years after the date given by the *Chronicon* of St-André-le-Câteau. At this point he ordered the demolition of the walls. He had some trouble acquiring new columns, but through divine intervention found some old Roman *spolia*. The work was eventually completed in 1030 at which point a celebration was held to mark the placing of the saintly relics in their new home. The reason this account is difficult to square with the others is that if the work was started in 1023 rather than 1021 and was not ready for reconsecration until 1030, it is unlikely to have been ‘almost ready’ by 1024/25. The most likely explanation is that III:49 is a retrospective account of a more haphazard undertaking. It is possible that Gerard’s original attempt just to renovate the choir and crypt had caused so much structural damage to the more recent Western end that he was forced to rebuild the rest of the cathedral as well. Given that Gerard was otherwise occupied during 1024/25 with the aftermath of Emperor Henry II’s death, this latter work may not have taken place until the late 1020s. In this case III:49 would constitute a later attempt to make the whole process look planned from the start.

Gerard constructed two further churches within Cambrai, dedicated to St Nicholas and the Holy Sepulchre. Hirschmann’s suggestion that these might have been inspired by his ally Richard of St-Vanne when Richard returned from pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1046 is plausible. It is less likely that a twelfth-century tradition whereby the Palm Sunday procession from St-Géry to the cathedral is supposed to reflect the topography of the Holy

City dates to Gerard's time in office.⁴⁰ All Hirschmann's references for episcopal interest in Jerusalem come from the *Gesta* of Gerard's successor Lietbert, and in particular from that section of the text written after Lietbert's (admittedly abortive) pilgrimage to the City.⁴¹

One final aspect of Gerard's building work needs to be dealt with, and that is his construction of a fortress and monastery at Câteau-Cambrésis. The *Chronicon* of that community tells us in fact that Gerard's predecessor Erluin had begun the construction of the fort, and 'per hoc incolis totius provinciae pacem et quietem non modicam acquivisse.' Gerard replaced Erluin's wooden fort with a stone tower, and the inscription he had carved into the wall is striking:

Sanctae Dei genetrici Mariae Gerardus episcopus domum hanc ad tuitionem
et refugium pauperum. Quam qui ad hoc servaverit, benedictionem, qui autem
aliter fecerit, aeternam accipiat maledictionem.⁴²

We see here a combination of military activity on the part of the bishop, involving the construction of a fortress for the peace, quiet, protection and refuge of the inhabitants, and spiritual, made more explicit with the foundation of the monastery there so that the site could protect both souls and bodies.⁴³ Erluin and Gerard were acting here in a manner appropriate for the ecclesiastical lords they were. Bishops did not just destroy castellan strongholds, as Bishop Rothard had done;⁴⁴ they could be 'castellans' themselves.

⁴⁰ Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung*, pp.136-39.

⁴¹ For Gerard's activities as a monastic reformer in the wider diocese, see Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Abbayes, Évêques et Laïques. Une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Âge (VII^e-XI^e siècle)* (Brussels, 1994), pp.255-58, 286-90, 304-7.

⁴² Both citations are from *Chronicon s. Andreae*, I:11, p.528.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I:12, p.529.

⁴⁴ *GeC*, I:103, pp.444-45.

Coins of a succession of Carolingian rulers from Pippin the Short to Charles the Bald and probably also Zwentibold were minted at Cambrai. There are none after this until the late eleventh century.⁴⁵ This is in marked contrast to Arras, where, as we have seen, the minting of coins continued throughout the tenth century. We know that the bishops claimed the right to mint and to levy tolls by the 940s, since a contemporaneous copy of a *diploma* of Otto I dated to 941 survives in the Lille departmental archives. Whether the claim was true or not is impossible to verify. If it was it may even have dated to the reign of Charles *Simplex*; if not it was certainly recognised by the emperors by 991 at the latest where it appears in a confirmation *diploma* of Otto III which survives in the original.⁴⁶ In 1003, Henry II not only reconfirmed these rights but also granted them at Câteau-Cambrésis, south-east of Cambrai.⁴⁷ The failure of the bishops of Cambrai to capitalise on their rights to mint their own coinage may well be indicative of Cambrai's loss of economic stature vis-à-vis Arras, but this does not mean that Cambrai somehow missed out on the more generalised urbanisation of the tenth century. The fire that devastated the city in 1020 spread from the *civitas* as far as the Mont-des-Boeufs, demonstrating that the intervening

⁴⁵ Jean Lafaurie, 'Les monnaies émises à Cambrai aux VIe-IXe siècles', *Revue du Nord* LXVIII (1986), 402-3. One discovered coin of Otto I thought to be from Cambrai almost certainly is not; my thanks to Peter Ilisch, curator of coins at the Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, for discussing this with me.

⁴⁶ The *diploma* of Otto I is: T. Sickel (ed.), *MGH DD I* (Hannover, 1879-84), no.39, pp.124-26. Although the editor of this particular *diploma*, Foltz, raises the possibility that the grant of mint rights was not in the original *diploma*, he is of the opinion that is probably was: pp.124-25. There is a confirmation of this grant by Otto II dating to 977, but this only survives in a thirteenth-century cartulary: T. Sickel (ed.), *MGH DD II.1* (Hannover, 1888), no.146 (Foltz), pp.164-65. The undoubtedly genuine confirmation by Otto III is at T. Sickel (ed.), *MGH DD II.2* (Hanover, 1893), no.72, pp.479-80.

⁴⁷ H. Bresslau (ed.), *MGH DD III*, (Hannover, 1900-03), no.49, pp.57-59.

space was fully built up.⁴⁸ What the absence of coins does perhaps reveal is the inability of the bishops to capitalise on their increasing legal claims to power in and around their city. Otto I gave the community of canons of St-Géry to the bishops of Cambrai in 948, as well as control of the city which had until then been shared with the local count. In 1007, the bishop was given the entire county of Cambrésis as part of an attempted settlement between the bishop (at this point, Gerard's predecessor, Erluin), Henry II and Count Baldwin IV of Flanders.⁴⁹ None of this prevented conflicts between the bishops and castellans or Flemish counts.

Douai (see Map 4) was the youngest of the three major urban centres, only developing from the status of village in the ninth century. The archaeology indicates a regular groundplan already at that period, but following the seizure of the city by the counts of Flanders from the 940s part of that organization was in part destroyed to make way for what was apparently a farming complex. Douai at this period never acquired stone walls but did have a castellan who seems to have exercised governmental functions on behalf of the Flemish count. Whereas the farming complex (and later comital residence) was on high ground, the castellan's tower was in the marshy area next to the river and it was there that tolls were collected. It was however the West Frankish king Lothar, after he took back Artois and the Ostrevant in 967, who destroyed the farming complex and in a series of phases developed it into a defensible residence. Arnulf II, who reacquired the city from Hugh Capet, then converted this residence into a wooden keep. By c.1000, the high ground,

⁴⁸ The fire is described in *GeC*, II:7, p.458. For the date, which is often placed in 1027, see van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', 320.

⁴⁹ F.L. Ganshof, 'Les origines de la Flandre Impériale. Contribution à l'histoire de l'ancien Brabant.', *Annales de la Société Royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles. Mémoires, Rapports et Documents* XLVI (1942/43), 109-12.

including the keep and the church (and by then community of canons) of St-Amé, was surrounded by a stone wall. The primary church of Douai had been dedicated to Mary, but Arnulf I seems to have translated relics of St Amatus from Soissons to Douai and rededicated the church. In this he would have been imitating his own actions in the early 940s when he translated relics from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Ghent and sending a signal legitimising his rule as a pious overlord.

There was at least one pair of mills in Douai by 988, and three pairs in total by 1038. While the natural flow of water would have been enough to support the one set, three required the diversion of the 'Sate' river to create the modern Scarpe.⁵⁰ It is difficult to tell when this had been done, but such a major engineering project can only have been organised by either the Count of Flanders or Lothar of West Francia. Lohrmann argues that if more than two of the six known 1038 mills had existed in 988 then the diversion must have dated to the time of Arnulf I. He explicitly assumes that Lothar would not have been interested in economic connections between Douai and Flanders, yet we know from the archaeology that Lothar did invest in the economic development of Douai.⁵¹ Precisely who was responsible for the hydro-engineering must remain unclear. The development of the waterways around Douai had a direct impact on Cambrai cathedral. The bishops had been granted (or at least claimed to have been granted) the former royal fisc of Lambres by Charles *Simplex*. This was the highest point on what would become the Scarpe which boats

⁵⁰ Douai had lain on a small river of unknown name which flowed into the medieval Scarpe north of the city. The cutting of a channel through the chalk swell and subsequent linking of the 'Sate', this river and the Flemish Scarpe created the modern Scarpe. The upper reaches of the original Scarpe still exist as the Escrebieu.

⁵¹ Pierre Demolon, 'Douai vers l'an Mil', in Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral I Altet (eds), *Le roi de France et son royaume autour l'an Mil* (Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987, La France de l'an Mil, Paris-Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987, Paris, 1992), p.175.

could reach and the bishops were able to charge a toll for transshipment onto land. The creation of the modern Scarpe and its fortification downstream at Douai meant that the counts now controlled the transshipment point. The *Gesta* author, at the point at Book II when he is supposed to be discussing the community of canons of St-Amé, spends most of the chapter bemoaning the fact that the cathedral's income from Lambres has fallen by a half.⁵² The bishops of Cambrai had the same ambivalent relations with the counts of Flanders as they did with the abbots of St-Vaast, and in both cases economic rights contributed to the tensions.

Modern Historiography

There have been few studies of Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras as such, though there are a number of entries in specialist dictionaries.⁵³ More frequently, he has been examined in the context of alleged religious and socio-political changes in the decades around 1000.

The first study devoted solely to Gerard was published in 1937 by Theodor Schieffer in the first number of the newly reconstituted house journal of the *MGH*.⁵⁴ There

⁵² *GeC*, II:21, p.460.

⁵³ Of the latter, I will just mention the entry by Alphonse Wauters in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol.7 (Brussels, 1880-83), cols 623-29, Erik van Mingroot's article in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques* [henceforth *D.H.G.E.*], vol.20 (Paris, 1984), cols 742-51 (for further discussion of which, see below p.45, n.25) and T. Struve's piece in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol.4.6, Cols 1311-12. Heinrich Sproemberg's posthumously published article, 'Gerhard I., Bischof von Cambrai (1012-1061[sic])', in *idem*, *Mittelalter und demokratische Geschichtsschreibung. Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, M. Unger (ed.) (Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte 18, Berlin [East], 1971), pp.103-118 is of a similar kind – light on analysis, it restricts itself to recounting the main events of Gerard's life and engages in debate only where those facts might be in doubt, e.g. pp.104-5.

⁵⁴ Theodor Schieffer, 'Ein deutscher Bischof des 11. Jahrhunderts: Gerhard I. von Cambrai (1012-1051)', *Deutsches Archiv* I (1937), 323-60. For further discussion of the context of its publication, see below, p.188, n.2.

Schieffer argued that in the tenth century Lower Lotharingia, on the very western edge of which the city of Cambrai was located, suffered from the same lack of central authority which allegedly characterised West Francia at this time. In addition to the unruliness of the local aristocracy, the area also faced threats from the west – either from aristocrats to whom the indigenous counterparts would go for help against the monarchy, or from the expansionist ambitions of the counts of Flanders. The early Ottonians, in particular Otto I, built up the resources and rights of the bishops of Cambrai-Arras whose appointment they were careful to control. They did this by renewing previous grants of legal immunity as well as of mint and toll rights, and by giving the bishops the important suburban community of canons of St-Géry, sole control of the city of Cambrai where before it had been split between the bishop and the count, and finally the post of count in its entirety over the whole of the Cambrésis. As part of their role in imposing order, the bishops built castles with which to control the countryside and demolished illegally constructed ones. More often in Gerard's case, he would be called on to make peace between the monarch or his representatives and rebels. In this context, Gerard's most spectacular diplomatic success was the meeting between Henry and Robert described above. In any case, Schieffer emphasised what nowadays historians might call *Königsnähe*, including its most literal sense: Gerard's presence at court. In spiritual matters, Gerard was supposed to have been a reformer, but not one who allowed imperial rights to be corroded by the excessive religious zeal of the Peace of God movement – the Westerners might have needed to construct a new legal framework to deal with the anarchy in their kingdom, but no such initiatives were welcome in the East. Gerard would have gained in authority through the Peace measures,

but his loyalty made him restrict even his own rights.⁵⁵ Things worsened for Gerard after the death of Henry II since he no longer had the personal connections on which his influence at the centre relied, and he made way for figures such as Abbot Poppo of Stavelot-Malmedy and Bishop Wazo of Liège. Although Gerard was never entirely out in the cold, this loss of influence at the centre meant instability for him in the locality. Ultimately the imperial church was as key to the survival of the bishop's power as it was to that of the emperor. In summary, Schieffer sees Gerard as a member of a specifically *imperial* church created by the Ottonians to counterbalance the centrifugal ambitions of the regional aristocracy. As such he was the representative of central, imperial power in the locality and stood up for state order (which Schieffer equated with a strong monarchy) and opposed the anarchic feudal principle.⁵⁶ Above all, Gerard was *kaisertreu*. One possible explanatory move which Schieffer explicitly rejects is that any of this represents a French/German opposition.⁵⁷ His interpretation may be statist, but, despite the title of the article, it is not nationalist.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.345.

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, p.335 for the opposition between a strong monarchy and feudal anarchy and p.336 for that between the feudal principle and state order.

⁵⁷ p.359.

⁵⁸ Compare Schieffer with Hildegard Franz-Reinhold, writing in 1940, who, while likening the marcher fortresses along the Scheldt with the marches in the East, argued that whereas the latter constituted an offensive position 'gegenüber den kulturell unterlegenen Slawen', the former formed a geschlossene Verteidigungslinie' against 'eine noch von gemeinsamer karolingischer Vergangenheit her als Brudervolk betrachtete und sehr angriffslustige Nation.' Franz-Reinhold repeatedly uses words such as *Grenzfront*, *Grenzabschnitt* and *Grenzkampf* to describe the border with Flanders: Hildegard Franz-Reinhold, 'Die Marken Valenciennes, Eename und Antwerpen im Rahmen der kaiserlichen Grenzsicherungspolitik an der Schelde im 10-11. Jahrhundert', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* X (1940), 229-76; quotes at pp.249-50,

The underlying assumptions of Schieffer's article are that there was such a thing as feudal anarchy which threatened the order that could only be brought by the state, and that the imperial church was the mechanism whereby the East Frankish rulers quite consciously held this phenomenon at bay. This is what German scholarship has called the 'ottonisch-salische Reichskirchensystem', or 'RKS' for short. Georg Waitz had put forward a nuanced picture of the church in the empire and in it we see both the germs of the later RKS formulation and a number of reservations. On the one hand he did describe bishops and abbots in both the Carolingian as well as Ottonian and Salian periods as 'civil servants' (*Beamten*), and mentioned that Frankish kings saw bishops and abbots as supports for their power which they could use as a counterweight to powerful magnates.⁵⁹ But once Waitz entered into detail, his explanation of the monarch's interest in nominating bishops and in his granting them lands and rights implied a far more passive approach than allowed for by the RKS. Granting rights gave the bishops little more than what they should have had by right.⁶⁰ Bishops co-operated with local magnates to govern their dioceses and counties.⁶¹ The imperial insistence on keeping hold of the right of nomination was to stop institutions such as bishoprics and abbeys becoming independent themselves.⁶² Above all, there were few sharp legal categories; power was negotiated from day to day.⁶³

It was quite clear that insofar as Waitz's model intended to explain imperial power, it looked forward to the Investiture Contest. For Waitz, the power of nomination and thence

⁵⁹ Georg Waitz, *Die Deutsche Reichsverfassung von der Mitte des neunten bis zur Mitte des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3 (*Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, vol. 7, Kiel, 1876), pp.184, 203.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.264.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.261

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.265

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.195

investiture by ring and staff was key. Yet such a model may well have described how the emperors used their church, but it was far from being a *system*. Such an idea would only be fully articulated much later by Leo Santifaller,⁶⁴ and it was never true that every historian working on the church in the Empire explicitly emphasised its systematic character. References to the *Reichskirche* were probably always more common than those to the *Reichskirchensystem*. Nonetheless, even those who chose the more conservative vocabulary had to explain how the emperors won the bishop's loyalty and under what criteria they chose their candidates. This mechanism was understood to be the royal chapel. The most fully worked out study of the institution was Josef Fleckenstein's 1966 work, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, and even though this was, strictly speaking, a study specifically of the royal chapel, the subtitle of the second volume demonstrated that the chapel was thought to form the keystone of any understanding of the emperor's control of the *Reichskirche* as a whole.⁶⁵ In Fleckenstein's model, the king or emperor appointed his own chaplains to sees since these were the men he knew and trusted. There is no doubt whatsoever that this was done. Fleckenstein's work remains a brilliant tracing of personnel. Yet this does not fully take into account either where the chaplains came from, nor the circumstances into which they were sent. The clerics recruited to the chapel came from aristocratic families to whom they owed allegiance and from cathedral schools and communities of canons to which they owed at least respect. They entered institutions with a long history of relations with the local magnates whom they were, according the RKS

⁶⁴ Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (Vienna, 1954). A second edition was published ten years later.

⁶⁵ Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, II. Teil: Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 16/II, Stuttgart, 1966).

paradigm, supposed to control. The royal chapel was certainly used to bind these men more closely to the king, but given that the cathedrals were almost as much *Eigenkirchen* as they were *Reichskirchen*, it is legitimate to wonder to what extent this 'system' was promoted by or forced on the emperors.

Schieffer is of course not alone in placing Cambrai into this interpretative framework. Hildegard Franz-Reinhold claimed that the ability to appoint bishops meant that the emperors could pick trusted men to counter local feudal lords who were able to make contacts over the border into France.⁶⁶ Nor is this argumentation restricted to German scholars. In 1934, Vercauteren described Gerard as 'le type achevé de l'évêque impérialiste.'⁶⁷ Henri Platelle made Gerard and his successor Lietbert into faithful servants of the Emperor, who struggled against a brutal feudal climate.⁶⁸ Much more recently, to return to Germany, Lotte Kéry has repeated the claim that Gerard was there to counterbalance the local magnates in the emperor's favour.⁶⁹ But by Kéry's time the usefulness of this paradigm had been called into question, specifically by Timothy Reuter. Reuter challenged the idea that such a large proportion of the episcopate owed their jobs to the emperor rather than their own contacts and that royal attempts to influence episcopal appointments were somehow a uniquely German policy.⁷⁰ More recently, Reuter

⁶⁶ Franz-Reinhold, 'Die Marken', 268.

⁶⁷ Vercauteren, *Etude sur les civitates*, p.224, n.4.

⁶⁸ Henri Platelle, 'Les origines – le moyen âge', in Pierre Pierrard (ed.), *Les diocèses de Cambrai et de Lille* (Histoire des diocèses de France 8, Paris, 1978), 32.

⁶⁹ Kéry, *Die Errichtung*, p.228.

⁷⁰ Timothy Reuter, 'The 'Imperial Church System' of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* XXXIII (1982), 347-74.

questioned the politicisation of the episcopate as a whole.⁷¹ It is fair to say that his ideas were received in Germany with ill grace.⁷² Nonetheless, his attack on the accepted paradigm has led historians to back away from emphasising the systematic nature of the *Reichskirche*.⁷³ Even this concession poses problems for interpreting the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*. If the RKS had, so to speak, no S, the loyalty to the emperors unambiguously expressed by the author, on behalf of, presumably, its commissioner, cannot be taken as axiomatic. Thus the day-to-day negotiation of power which Schieffer recognised, but left unexamined, must become the subject of investigation.

Other than Schieffer, the only historian to have made Gerard of Cambrai the centre of an analysis is Georges Duby.⁷⁴ Schieffer's statist, but not nationalist, reading is in marked contrast to Duby's treatment in his book on the Three Orders of society (those who work, those who fight and those who pray). Duby's interpretation will be analysed in more

⁷¹ Timothy Reuter, 'Ein Europa der Bischöfe. Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms', in Wilfried Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000-1025* (Mainz, 2000), pp.1-28.

⁷² Josef Fleckenstein, 'Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche', in Karl Schmid (ed.), *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Gerd Tellenbach zum 80. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1985), 83-98. And not only in Germany; see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200*, (Philadelphia, 1994), p.388, n.15.

⁷³ Hagen Keller and Gerd Althoff have restated the case for a deliberate policy from the time of Otto I: *idem*, *Heinrich I. und Otto der Grosse. Neubeginn auf karolingischem Erbe*, 2 vols, 2nd ed. (Persönlichkeit und Geschichte vols 122 and 123, Göttingen, 1994), esp. vol.2, pp.217-22. (Note that Gerd Althoff is the author of the second volume, on Otto I: per. comm.) But it should be noted that Otto's policy contrasted with that of his father Henry I, who worked primarily through contacts to lay magnates. It is Henry's rejection of ecclesiastical ties, most singularly demonstrated in his refusal to be anointed, that is strange here. Otto's 'choice' to use the church to bolster royal authority is instead a return to normal royal tradition.

⁷⁴ Georges Duby, *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978). The translation by Arthur Goldhammer, *The Three Orders. Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago, 1980), is misleading in detail. Citations will therefore be to the latest French reprint in *idem*, *Féodalité* (Paris, 1996), pp.451-825. For the characterisation of Gerard, see esp. pp.469-501.

detail later in this dissertation, but it is necessary to summarise it here. Whereas Schieffer allegedly made Gerard into a German, Duby really did make him into a Frenchman, albeit one of a very special type. In Duby's reading, Gerard was a throwback to a Carolingian past conserved in the archiepiscopal school of Rheims. In this he resembled Adalbero of Laon, the only other early eleventh-century articulator of the Three Orders scheme, who used it to satirical effect in his *Carmen* addressed to Robert the Pious. Both were believed by Duby to have defended a dying public order against a societal crisis around the year 1000 brought on by the onset of feudalism. This was the same feudalism that would later be harnessed by the French monarchy to create the Ancien Régime and its Three Estates. Ironically therefore, for all its rhetorical dash, Duby's analysis is a variation on Schieffer's: both historians see Gerard as defending a monarchically-centred world against feudal anarchy. Where Duby differs is that where Schieffer was statist, the Frenchman was both statist and nationalist. In all fairness, Duby was at least in part reacting to the title of Schieffer's article, but the national teleology remains, nonetheless. Janus-like, Gerard (and Adalbero) look back to the Carolingian order of previous centuries and simultaneously prophesy the feudal monarchy of the later Capetians.

Most seriously, Duby's interpretative framework meant that he downplayed incompatible evidence and tendentiously redated parts of the *Gesta* to fit his analysis rather than fitting his analysis to the *Gesta*'s date. Since Duby argued that Gerard and Adalbero's development of the Three Orders scheme was a reaction to a sudden crisis, any prior appearance of the scheme would rob his interpretation of significance, if not entirely invalidate it. Unfortunately the scheme has since been found fully-formed in late-ninth-

century Auxerre.⁷⁵ Yet even at the time, Duby's attention had been drawn by Wendy Davies to the scheme's occurrence in Alfredian Wessex.⁷⁶ Insofar as Duby did incorporate this into his analysis it was by making Anglo-Saxon England the intellectual pupil of Francia, despite the fact that, on this issue at least, the chronology known then to Duby suggested, if anything, the opposite.⁷⁷

At about the same time, Duby wrote an article redating the section of the *Gesta* in which Gerard's formulation of the Three Orders occurs.⁷⁸ The article had become necessary, but also possible, because of van Mingroot's redating of the entire work, a redating which is still accepted without modification almost to this day.⁷⁹ The *MGH* editor, Ludwig C. Bethmann, had dated the most of the text to the early 1040s, and the sections after III:34 to shortly after 1044 and definitely before Gerard's death in 1051.⁸⁰ Bethmann dated the occasion of the Three Orders speech to 1036 because in the text it is sandwiched between the accounts of the synod of Tribur and Conrad II's Italian campaign, both of which fell in that year. Van Mingroot changed the date of the composition of the *Gesta* entirely, demonstrating that the bulk of the work was in fact written in 1024-25, with interpolations dating to 1051x55. As it had stood, Gerard's conception of the Three Orders

⁷⁵ Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Le baptême du schéma des trois ordres fonctionnels. L'apport de l'école d'Auxerre dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle', *Annales ESC* XXIII (1986), 101-26. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that Iogna-Prat sees this expression as 'monastic' and 'eschatological' to which Adalbero of Laon's and Gerard of Cambrai's formulations are the 'episcopal' and anti-eschatological response; see *idem.*, p.126. For further discussion of monasticism and eschatology, see below pp.69-75 and pp.34-35, 186-87 respectively.

⁷⁶ *Féodalité*, p.563, n.1.

⁷⁷ For a further discussion of Schieffer, Duby and Gerard's nationality, see below, pp.188-92.

⁷⁸ Georges Duby, 'Gérard de Cambrai, la paix et les trois fonctions sociales, 1024', in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1976), 136-46.

⁷⁹ E. van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek'.

⁸⁰ Bethmann, *MGH SS* VII, pp.393-94.

would therefore have been recorded several years after the speech was given, after Adalbero had used the same idea in his *Carmen*, after Gerard's trial of heretics in Arras in 1025 and after the collapse of Capetian royal power which Jean-François Lemarignier had dated to 1028.⁸¹ The new dating could be used to reverse all this: if the recording of the speech was close to its original presentation, it could be taken as a more accurate representation of Gerard's views; if it happened before the synod of Arras and the collapse of Capetian power, then it could be part of a defence against a king who himself had encountered problems with heretics, in Orléans in 1022; if it predated Adalbero then Gerard could be credited with its authorship and the scheme would be more closely linked with reaction against the Peace of God movement and Duby's feudal revolution of the year 1000. Unfortunately for Duby, the Three Orders speech occurs in that section of the *Gesta* marked by van Mingroot as a later interpolation. Duby got around this problem by pointing out that not all of the latter sections of the text are necessarily from the later date. It is in the very nature of interpolations that they are *interpolated*. In principle there is nothing wrong with this argument, except that it required some special pleading on Duby's part. The synod of Tribur dealt with when and for how long to fast; the peace oath which Gerard is said to oppose with his speech also proposes fasting, and the account follows that of the synod with the adverb *istiusmodi*. Duby never really gives an explanation for why the episode should be placed where it is if the compiler had not at least believed that the events took place in the 1030s. Finally, Duby's argument is circular. He dates the speech to 1024-25 rather than later because it fits his argument about social and political upheaval at that time, but he then presses it into service as evidence for that upheaval. Since Duby's article, David

⁸¹ Georges Duby, 'Gérard de Cambrai', 137.

C. van Meter has convincingly demonstrated that the events described as leading up to the Three Orders speech are in fact to be dated to the mid-1030s, as had been previously believed.⁸² This of course means that the account cannot be from the first 1024-25 redaction of the *Gesta*, as Duby argued, but from the second, which dates to the early 1050s. Nonetheless, an aspect of Duby's approach that has been swallowed up in wider discussions on social change is still extremely promising: his emphasis on the importance of the moment of composition. As far as theories of feudal mutation are concerned, the eleven or twelve years Duby's redating demanded are relatively unimportant. Indeed, van Meter may well have returned the events to the 1030s but only to argue that they were symptomatic of a social and religious earthquake around the millennium of the Passion. Duby understood, as van Meter did not, is that the circumstances of composition of the *Gesta* must be decoded as a first step to interpretation. Duby's redating may have been misconceived in its execution and ultimately fruitless, but he knew the moment of composition was a topic of utmost importance to any interpretation of authorial intent.

Van Meter is part of a school of interpretation which, although it claims kinship with Duby, uses his suggestions of social change to go much further and postulate widespread apocalyptic expectation around the years 1000 and 1033 (the millennia of the Nativity and Passion respectively). Where this 'new historiography', as van Meter has called it, differs from the old, discredited *terreurs de l'an mil* version is that where Michelet saw fear, his modern counterparts in the U.S. (and to a lesser extent Germany) see hope. The coming of the millennia produced in the populace, according to this modern account,

⁸² David C. Van Meter, 'The peace of Amiens-Corbie and Gerard of Cambrai's Oration on the Three Functional Orders: the Date, the Context, the Rhetoric', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* LXXIV (1996), 633-57.

an expectation of the return of Christ to judge the living and the dead and thereby created an outpouring of religious enthusiasm for reform. In the opinion of this new historiography's leading proponent, Richard Landes, these feelings were politically subversive since the coming of Christ meant the lifting of social distinctions and attempts to create a pure, egalitarian society in preparation for the imminent Last Day. In contemporary sources' denigration or, much more often, apparent ignorance of these revolutionary developments Landes sees proof that millennial hopes were so dangerous to the authorities that they suppressed discussion of them. Thus the absence of evidence for such feelings becomes evidence for those feelings' impact on contemporaries. Landes draws a parallel between this and modern historians' failure to take intense religious feeling seriously as a historical factor. Neither medieval monks nor modern academics prove themselves comfortable with the irrationality of popular religious fervour. The only way to truly access it is to reject excessively sober 'positivism' for the use of the historical imagination.⁸³

The weakness of this approach hardly needs spelling out, but to criticise it is not to reject the notion that some people some of the time may well have believed the end of the world was nigh and a new age of equality was to dawn. Still, this is not the thrust of the Landes/van Meter argument. On the contrary, they argue for a socially significant groundswell of emotion in large sections of the population over long periods. Even if we were able to demonstrate that large numbers of people did hope for the Second Coming in the years 1000 and 1033, it is difficult to see how we would demonstrate that this drove

⁸³ Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History. Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge Mass., 1995); for the use of 'a priori imagination', see esp. pp.19-23 and 298-99. See also his 'The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern', *Speculum* LXXV (2000), 97-145.

social change. While 1000 and 1033 may well have seen hopes for the end climax, the changes linked to these feelings, such as the Peace of God movement, date to years such as the 970s and 980s, in other words well before these dates. It is difficult to see how emotions would be kept at the required revolutionary level for so long. The appeal to historical imagination is insufficient since that leads to a circular argument.

I will deal with further historiographical issues where they arise within the text, but these three aspects of the debate – the statist reading of Schieffer, the nationalist one of Duby and the millennial of the American school – have dominated the understanding of Gerard's work so far and it is roughly around these topics that this thesis is organised.

Organisation

'Chapter One: Upbringing, Family, Community and Reform' will sketch the likely circumstances of Gerard's life before attaining the episcopal throne. Since so much of our image of Gerard comes from the *Gesta*, it is especially important to take care when using this source for a period when it may not reflect the realities of Gerard's life. For this chapter I will therefore only use the *Gesta* for objectively verifiable facts about Gerard which are almost certain to be true.⁸⁴ Any element involving authorial value judgment, such as to what extent he was responsible for building work on the cathedral, will be omitted. Nor will I at this stage analyse the use of this information in the *Gesta*. Instead I will extract that information and examine it in the context of a broader picture of the late-tenth, early eleventh-century clerical world partly synthesised from other historians' works, and partly determined by my own analysis of figures who shaped that world such as Gerbert of

⁸⁴ When I refer to 'objectively verifiable facts', I mean those statements that can be phrased in the form of a yes/no question: e.g. Was Gerard a royal chaplain?

Aurillac or Abbo of Fleury. The aim of the chapter will be to demonstrate the ways in which the depiction of Gerard's episcopal career, and those of his predecessors, fits (or does not fit!) into wider concerns about the church that Gerard would have imbibed earlier on, but also the ways in which the 1024-25 Cambrai author is articulating concerns that are new or unique to Cambrai. I want to avoid an impression of immobility or homogeneity by differentiating people of different generations and social and geographical situations such as Adalbero of Rheims (or, for that matter, of Laon), Robert the Pious and Gerard.

'Chapter Two: The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*' will consist entirely of a detailed analysis of our main source. I show that although van Mingroot's dating of 1024-25/1051x55 still largely stands, a codicological examination reveals more interpolations than previously recognised. By comparing the two redactions I hope to demonstrate that at least some of the attitudes expressed in the *Gesta* are products not of Gerard's personal ideology but of the geo-political position of Cambrai. Thus the work should not be seen as a programmatic statement emanating from the ideas of an individual, but as a defence of the interests of a specific institution coping with vicissitudes experienced along a long-standing faultline in political structures. In addition, on the basis of my analysis of the codicology I will suggest a new explanation of the disjointed character of *Gesta* historiography. While taking full account of traditional explanations that interpret entire texts as expressing a sacred history of the progressive revelation of God's will, I hope to show that writing was also shaped by the mundane, practical concerns of manuscript technology.

'Chapter Three: The Ordering of Society' will deal with the most famous elements of the *Gesta*: those concerning the Peace of God and Gerard's oration on the Three Orders. Rather than subsuming the Peace councils into one movement, this chapter will analyse

them individually and not in the context of other religious phenomena thought to be *a priori* related, but in the context of their reporting. Thus I will argue that the real threat posed by Robert the Pious to Lotharingia in 1024-25 was the root cause of the *Gesta*'s condemnation of Robert's councils as being a sign of weakness. The depiction of the conflicts between Baldwin IV and Gerard over peace councils in the mid-1030s will be found to have less to do with millennial fears (or hopes) than with conflicts between the Emperor and Baldwin V in the early 1050s when the second redaction of the *Gesta* to which this account belongs was undertaken.

'Chapter Four: Nationalism and Christendom' will use the *Gesta* to shed light on questions of national identity and political loyalty in the early eleventh century. The *Gesta* repeatedly use the rare German loan-word *karlenses* to designate the inhabitants of West Francia. While this has been noted in the historiography dealing with the birth of French and German national identities, no systematic analysis of the *Gesta*'s 'identity landscape' has ever been attempted. In this chapter, I will therefore first examine the correlations between the depiction of perceived collectives and their political relationships with the bishops of Cambrai. I will then use theoretical models of political and national identity worked out by historians of more recent periods to identify what is characteristic about the medieval formulations expressed in the *Gesta*.

This study is most certainly not a biography of Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras. I am not trying to rescue a historical figure from undeserved obscurity. If anything one of the arguments of this thesis is that the hyperbole with which modern historiography surrounds the Peace of God movement and the Three Orders overemphasises Gerard's significance. Yet to argue that Gerard is not as influential as he is sometimes made out to be is not to say

that I believe my analysis is somehow trivial. Instead I would like it to be understood as a contribution to socio-cultural history. I am interested in how the structures of society affected contemporaries' perception of the world around them, in particular of their fellow human beings. For this purpose, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, with its viewpoint split between two kingdoms and two turbulent moments in time thirty years apart, is an ideal subject.

CHAPTER 1

UPBRINGING, FAMILY, COMMUNITY AND REFORM

This chapter will be concerned with examining the context of Gerard's ascension to the episcopal throne. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* gives very little evidence in this respect: it is obviously far more interested in Gerard's predecessors. This poverty of our main source is nonetheless a methodological advantage, since by turning to external sources to delineate the context of Gerard's upbringing I can escape the circularity that the detailed study of only one source threatens. The *Gesta* will only be used to glean facts that are in principle verifiable, such as Gerard's kinship with Adalbero of Rheims. The use of these facts within the *Gesta* will be left for future chapters.

As regards my analysis of the ecclesiastical world of the late tenth- and early-eleventh centuries, this will of course be done in constant reference to modern historiography. In particular, I will critique a number of assumptions made by that historiography regarding the connection between the debates of Gerard's youth and his later activities. I will not be claiming that Gerard was somehow uninterested in the issues surrounding, for example, the conflict over the see of Rheims between Gerbert of Aurillac and the eventual victor Arnulf. I will however question their relevance for Gerard's later activity. This may seem a rather negative conclusion, but given the weight of the historiography surrounding, say, the monastic reform movement, I believe the attention is justified.

Lastly, as I will argue below, it is reasonable to expect Gerard's priorities to have really changed on his becoming bishop of Cambrai in 1012, and there is indeed a

hint that this was the case in his management of the family foundation of Florennes. It is this abbey that provides the key to unravelling Gerard's family connections.

Family

Specifically, it is the necrology of Florennes that has allowed Alain Dierkens, building on the work of C. G. Roland and D. Misonne amongst others, to reconstruct Gerard's immediate family.¹ Gerard's grandfather was Count Godfrey I of Rumigny, named as a count of Hainault in 958.² Godfrey may well also be the Godfrey named as *dux* of Lotharingia who was sent by Bruno of Cologne with reinforcements for Otto I to Italy in 964, and who died there of fever. Ruotger describes this Duke Godfrey as having been 'raised' by Bruno, and says the duke was 'a wise and pious man, a great lover of peace, very careful to be fair, sworn to obey the emperor for that time, pleasing to all.'³ A certain amount of doubt has nevertheless been expressed in the historiography about his ducal title, given the fact that the activities of Bruno's other 'sub-duke', Frederick I, are well known in comparison.⁴ Ulrich Nonn has pulled

¹ Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VII^e – XI^e siècles): Contribution à la histoire religieuse des campagnes du Haut Moyen Âge* (Sigmaringen, 1985), his reconstruction of the family tree can be found on pp.262-63; C. G. Roland, 'Histoire généalogique de la maison de Rumigny-Florennes', *Annales de la société archéologique de Namur* XIX (1891), 59-304; D. Misonne, 'L'obituaire primitif de l'abbaye de Florennes', *Revue Bénédictine* LXXII (1962), 96-108.

² Gonzo of Florennes, *Miracula s. Gengulfi Florinis facta*, AASS May II, c.3, p.649B; for the charter where he is named, see below, p.41, n.7.

³ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, Irene Ott (ed.), *MGH SRG n.s. X* (Weimar, 1951), c.41, pp.43-44: '[Bruno] auxiliares copias non levem armaturam de Lothariorum populo misit. His prefuit Godefridus dux, quem [Bruno] nutritivit, vir sapiens et religiosus, amantissimus pacis, observantissimus aequitatis, imperatori per id tempus ad votum serviens, omnibus placens. Hic eodem tempore febre correptus in magnam spem futurae quietis exspiravit. De cuius innocentia quoddammodo securus, quasi testis et conscius vitae eius pius pater Bruno, cum de pecunia dispensanda ageretur pro remedio animae illius, non valde eum talibus indigere asseruit.'

⁴ M. Parisse, '21. Friedrich I.' *Lexikon des Mittelalters* [henceforth *LMA*], vol.4.5, col.951. For doubts about Godfrey's status as *dux*, see Sproemberg, 'Gerhard I.', pp.104-5.

together the evidence for this fairly mysterious figure.⁵ A *comes* Godfrey is mentioned in two *diplomata* of Otto I. In the first, dated 11 June 958 he is mentioned along with Bruno as intercessor for one of Otto's *fideles* regarding a territory in the *comitatus* of another count.⁶ Here Godfrey's competence is not localised. In the second, on the other hand, dated two days later and involving the reallocation of the confiscated *villa* of Wambaix, this property is localised 'in pago Heinia in comitatu Godefridi'.⁷ Although, as Matthew Innes has pointed out, this does not strictly allow us to draw the conclusion that Godfrey was count *of* Hainault, since the phrase *pagus* is a geographical rather than administrative term, yet we can accept that he is at least in one guise a count *in* Hainault.⁸ Another *diploma* dating to 2 June 965 confirms a gift of the now late *dux* Godfrey to the abbey of St-Ghislain.⁹ Meanwhile the death of the duke (in 964) is recorded by the annals of Hildesheim and Quedlinberg as that of a *dux*, by the Continuator Reginonis as a *dux lothariensis*, and by the Liège continuation of the

⁵ Ulrich Nonn, *Pagus et Comitatus in Niederlothringen. Untersuchungen zur politischen Raumgliederung im früheren Mittelalter* (Bonner Historische Forschungen 49, Bonn, 1983), pp.194-97; see also Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Abbayes, Évêques et Laïques. Une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Âge (VII^e-XI^e siècle)* (Brussels, 1994), p.258, n.17; G. Despy, '6. Gottfried (I.)', *LMA* 4.8, col.1598.

⁶ *MGH DD I*, no.194, p.275.

⁷ *MGH DD I*, no.195, p.276. The word 'Godefridi' was inserted into a large lacuna after the drawing up of the document. Although the MGH editor, Foltz, believed it to be the same hand, my own examination has persuaded me otherwise: Lille Archives départementales du Nord 3G7.70. While it is certainly the same script and therefore fairly contemporary, the hand is much larger and less disciplined (possibly indicating the hand of Godfrey himself, or that of a very elderly scribe) than that of the main text, betraying a number of differences, especially on the ascenders and descenders of the letters d, f and r.

⁸ Matthew Innes, *State and Society in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), p.119-20. Indeed, in attempting to reconcile the information of the 958 diploma with that of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, Roland argued that Godfrey was count of only part of Hainault: Roland, 'Histoire généalogique', pp.67-68.

⁹ *MGH DD I*, no. 291, p.408.

Annals of Prüm, as *dux Francorum*.¹⁰ What is more problematic is Nonn's identification of the Hainault count with this duke. At no point does Nonn advance any arguments to defend this thesis.¹¹ It seems to rest on two pieces of circumstantial evidence: firstly that the duke held lands in Hainault as a grant from Otto I, and that his presumed tenure of ducal office immediately follows the date at which he appears as count.¹² The identification thus cannot be taken as certain, but it nevertheless remains very likely.

Gerard's grandmother was one Alpaïda, about whom virtually nothing is known.¹³ Roland's suggestion that after Godfrey I's death Alpaïda married Eilbert, a vassal of the Count of Vermandois, is incorrect, despite being based on late eleventh-

¹⁰ *Annales Hildesheimenses*, G. Waitz (ed.), *MGH SRG VIII* (Hanover, 1878), p.22 and *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, G.H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS III* (Hanover, 1839), p.60, an.963: 'Heinricus, archiepiscopus Trevericae civitatis, et dux Godefridus vitam perdiderunt'. *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, F. Kurze (ed.) *MGH SRG L* (Hanover, 1890), p.174, an.964: 'Ex qua pestilentia obierunt Heinricus, archiepiscopus Treverensis et Gerricus abbas Wizenburgensis et Godefridus dux Lothariensis aliorumque innumera multitudo tam nobilium quam ignobilium'; *Annales Prumienses*, an.964, 'Godefridus dux Francorum in Italia obiit', O. Holder-Egger (ed.), *MGH SS XV.2* (Hanover, 1888), p.1292. The same annals give the title to Bruno of Cologne on his death the following year: Lothar Boschen, *Die Annales Prumienses. Ihre nähere und ihre weitere Verwandtschaft* (Düsseldorf, 1972), p.83 and p.227, n.2. As Nonn, *Pagus und comitatus*, pp.196-97, points out, Frederick was also once called *dux Francorum*. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, R. Holtzmann (ed.), *MGH SRG N.S. IX* (Berlin, 1935), II:35, pp.82-83, also records Godfrey's death, but here probably draws from the Quedlinberg annals. For a discussion of a possible reference to a *dux Godefridus* in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* themselves, see below, p.223, n.89.

¹¹ Nonn, *Pagus und comitatus*, p.126.

¹² He appears as count in 958, and, assuming he and Frederick were appointed simultaneously, was made duke in 959; Leon Vanderkindere, *La formation territoriale des principautés belges au moyen âge*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1902), vol.2, pp.69-70.

¹³ In older historiography, for example Vanderkindere, *ibid.*, vol.2, pp.70-71, she is identified with Alpaïda of Hesbaye who founded a community of canons in Hoegaarden, but this identification has more recently been rejected. See Misonne, 'Obituaire primitif', p.99; Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, p.177, n.191.

century claims that Eilbert was lord of Florennes.¹⁴ Eilbert's connection with Florennes is instead to be traced via his wife Hersind, who appears in the community's obituary without her husband and endowed her foundation at Waulsort with lands in the vicinity of Florennes.¹⁵ Whether a connection existed between Hersind and the family of Godfrey and Alpaïda and if so of what kind it might have been are unknown. One possible suggestion is that Hersind was Godfrey's sister, but this is speculation¹⁶ – she could just as well have been related to Alpaïda.

Godfrey and Alpaïda had two sons survive to adulthood: Arnulf and Werry – a third alleged son, Godfrey [II], probably never existed.¹⁷ Alpaïda and her two sons appear in a 981 donation charter to the abbey of Waulsort given by Alpaïda.¹⁸ Roland suggested that Werry was a monk of Waulsort, referring to this charter but without argumentation. Misonne argued against Roland's thesis on the basis that Werry appears in the necrology of Florennes as having had a son, also called Arnulf and about whom nothing else is known.¹⁹ Werry having a child would not of course necessarily discount him from having become a monk, but the order of the witness list provides further evidence against this suggestion. Whereas both Alpaïda and Arnulf are listed first as those 'qui hanc traditionem firmare iusserunt', Werry comes next, at the top of the witness list, described only as Arnulf's brother. Presumably Roland thought this indicated he was the catalyst for the donation in his dual role as monk and family-

¹⁴ Roland, 'Histoire généalogique', pp.69-77; Dierkens, *ibid.*, pp.177- 90.

¹⁵ Dierkens, *ibid.*, p.183.

¹⁶ Dierkens, *ibid.*, p.183, n.245bis, referring to Michel Bur, *Chronique ou livre de fondation du monastère de Mouzon*, (Paris, 1989), p.289, n.7, who gives no reasoning.

¹⁷ Godfrey II is mentioned only by a mid-twelfth-century source: Dierkens, *ibid.*, pp.260-61.

¹⁸ Roland, 'Histoire généalogique', pp.69 and 77; Dierkens, *ibid.*, p.190; Georges Despy, *Les chartes de l'abbaye de Waulsort. Étude diplomatique et Édition critique. Tome I^{er} (946-1199)*, (Brussels, 1957), pp.332-33, no.7.

¹⁹ Misonne, 'Obituaire primitif', p.100.

member. It may be objected however that Werry seems to have been listed with those who made the grant, whereas those connected to the monastery – the abbot, advocate, prior, dean and an untitled individual in that order – are listed separately. His separation from his mother and brother may not be due to his having been tonsured but to his simply having had no direct interest in the land in question.

Arnulf, who became count of Florennes, married one Ermintrude and these were the parents of Gerard of Cambrai, as well as of Godfrey [III],²⁰ Arnulf II, (most likely killed in the battle of Florennes in 1015 against Lambert of Louvain who likewise died there),²¹ Eilbert (†11/5/1047), monk of St-Thierry near Rheims, whom his brother Gerard made abbot of Moroilles in 1020 then of St-Andrew-le-Cateau five years later, and finally a fifth son, Walter, and a daughter, Alpaida.²² Two other possible sons seem to have died young.²³

Ermintrude is often identified as a daughter of Mathilda of Saxony and Godfrey the Captive, count of Verdun and, from 969, of Ename and Antwerp, the brother of Archbishop Adalbero of Rheims.²⁴ Since Ermintrude is a common aristocratic name – Gerard's arch-enemy, the castellan Walter II, married an Ermintrude, and another was abbess of the troublesome convent of Nivelles – this identification seems to rest on Gerard's being described by the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* as a

²⁰ Here I follow Dierkens in keeping for the sake of convenience the numbering of the Godfreys in the historiography: Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, p.261.

²¹ Dierkens, *ibid.*, p.267, n.41.

²² Roland, 'Histoire généalogique', pp.79-109.

²³ Robert and Reginar; see Misonne, 'Obituaire primitif', p.100.

²⁴ For a biographical sketch of Godfrey the Captive, see Michel Parisse, '13 Gottfried der Ältere', *LMA* 4.8, cols.1601-2. Note that neither here nor in his genealogy of the house of Ardennes does Michel Parisse know of any such daughter, whereas he does list Godfrey's daughter Ermengarde, the wife of Otto of Hammerstein: 'Généalogie de la maison d'Ardenne', *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut granducal de Luxembourg* XCV (1981), pp.24, 30-31, 41. In fact, I have been unable to find *any* reference to an Ermintrude as Godfrey the Captive's daughter in the primary sources.

consanguineus of Adalbero of Rheims.²⁵ Whether the identification is accepted or not is important, because it would make Gerard the nephew of Dukes Godfrey II and Gozelo of Lower Lotharingia as well as the counts Hermann of Eename and Frederick of Verdun, the later monk of St-Vanne and associate of Richard of St-Vanne.²⁶ It would also make him distantly related to Baldwin IV of Flanders, via Mathilda's first marriage to Baldwin III. Yet given the silence of the *Gesta* over any relationship between Gerard on the one hand and Duke Godfrey and Count Hermann on the other, both of whom play important roles in the narrative, escorting Gerard to Cambrai after his ordination, I would err on the side of caution.²⁷ The *Gesta* depict Gerard's relations with Duke Godfrey and Count Hermann as 'professional', in terms of the service of all three to the *res publica*, and while this is certainly part and parcel of the *Gesta*'s depiction of Gerard as an integral member of the East Frankish polity, it is difficult to see why hiding such a family connection would further this goal. In fact, the only information the *Gesta* gives about Gerard's family is that the bishop was descended from West Franks and Lotharingians, that he was related to Adalbero of Rheims and that he inherited lands

²⁵ *GeC*, III:1, p.465. Roland, 'Histoire généalogique', p.79, seems to be the origin of the identification of Ermintrude as Godfrey and Mathilda's daughter (see for example, Misonne, 'Obituaire primitif', p.100, n.8) but he gives no reference; in his family tree Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, pp.262-63, acknowledges the connection is conjectural, although elsewhere he assumes it to be established fact, cf p.183, n.245bis: 'le comte Godefroid de Verdun, ... grand-père de Gérard I^{er} de Cambrai', as does his pupil Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Abbatés, évêques et laïques*, p.257; in his article on Gerard in the *D.H.G.E.*, van Mingroot seems to confuse Godfrey the Captive, Count of Verdun, with his son Godfrey, who became Duke of Lower Lotharingia in 1012. He identifies Gerard's mother Ermintrude as the Captive's sister, which makes the Captive Gerard's uncle rather than grandfather, and (Duke) Godfrey and Hermann his cousins rather than uncles, col.742; on the other hand in the same article he calls Hermann Gerard's 'oncle', col.743. For a discussion of the claim that Gerard was in fact related to Archbishop Arnulf and not Adalbero, see below, p.51-54.

²⁶ For brief biographies of Dukes Godfrey II and Gozelo I, see G. Despy, '7. Gottfried II.', *LMA* 4.8, col.1598 and M. Parisse, 'Gozelo', *LMA* 4.8, col.1616.

²⁷ For the escort, see *GeC*, III:2, pp.466-67; Hermann had escorted him to Cambrai after his appointment as well, see *GeC*, III:1, pp.465-66.

near Rheims from his mother, i.e. Ermintrude.²⁸ The maternal side of the family can only be what the author means when he writes of Gerard's West Frankish descent. Yet his normal use of the word *karlensis* leads to two tentative conclusions. Firstly, the term's negative connotations indicate that the author is not simply inventing a fictional lineage. Secondly, its meaning of followers and subjects of the West Frankish king does not apply to Godfrey the Captive.²⁹ This is, to be sure, not conclusive evidence against the identification of Gerard's mother with the Captive's daughter: Godfrey owned lands at Mouzon, which although in the Empire was in the diocese of Rheims; the *Gesta* author's reference to West Franks and Lotharingians may indeed refer to mixed lineage on both sides of Gerard's family; a number of members of the house of Ardennes are listed in the Florennes necrology (although without any explicit connection drawn between them and Ermintrude, and nor does Ermintrude appear with the family in the necrology of St-Vanne).³⁰ Yet it would be unwise to put too much weight on possible connections in the absence of further direct evidence.³¹ What we can say is that, whatever the nature of Gerard's link with the Ardennes clan, his being sent to Rheims was meant to strengthen it.³²

²⁸ *GeC*, III:1, p.465.

²⁹ See below, pp.198-202, for meanings of *karlensis*. See *GeC*, I:105, p.444, for the description of Lothar as *rex karlensium* in reference to the attack on Verdun in which Godfrey is captured and thereby acquires his nickname.

³⁰ Ernst Sackur, 'Handschriftliches aus Frankreich', *Neues Archiv* XV (1889), 126-32.

³¹ An example of how far conjecture can be taken is to be found in Gerard's entry in the D.H.G.E., where van Mingroot reasons that since Gerard's relations with the house of Ardennes make him a distant relative of Cunigunde, Henry II's wife, it could have been at her request that he was made a royal chaplain: col. 743. In fact we have no idea through whose influence, why or indeed how long before 1012 Gerard entered the chapel – he may even have been appointed by Otto III.

³² The reference to the Ardennes house as a clan is taken from Michel Parisse, 'Les hommes et le pouvoir dans la Lorraine de l'an Mil', in Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (edd.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil. Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, (Paris, 1990), pp.261-62.

This section has been marked by scepticism towards possible identifications and familial links. It is probable that Gerard's paternal grandfather was Duke of Lower Lotharingia under Bruno. It is possible that his mother was in fact the daughter of Godfrey the Captive. Yet I feel it is important to avoid the sort of 'interpretative creep' that begins with a possible identification, which opens up interpretative possibilities, which are then in turn taken to be certainties in order to make further explanations.³³ Regarding the probable identification of Duke Godfrey with Gerard's grandfather, what is perhaps more significant is precisely the fact that we know so little about Godfrey in comparison with his comrade in office Frederick I. This in itself may not just lie in the fact that Godfrey was from a less illustrious family, but also that his later kin, including Gerard, did not later reach anything like the heights of the house of the Ardennes. This is the context in which we should see Gerard's social position. After all, Duke Godfrey had almost certainly been dead some time before Gerard's birth.³⁴ All that we can be sure of is that Gerard was a member of a regionally, if not 'nationally', significant Lower Lotharingian kin group, which may well have had links to the house of the Ardennes, and probably did briefly provide a sub-duke of Lower Lotharingia, but whose links are not important enough to bear interpretative weight regarding Gerard's activities.

Florennes

As mentioned above, Gerard's family is known to us primarily through the necrology of their family foundation at Florennes. It is the history of the two communities at this site – a monastery of St-John-the-Baptist and a community of

³³ See p.45, n.25 above for examples of this process.

³⁴ Duke Godfrey died in 964. For Gerard's probable birth date, see pp.56-57.

canons dedicated to St-Gengoux – that gives us a glimpse of Gerard's (religious) activities not as a bishop but as a member of his family.

Alain Dierkens has reconstructed the sequence of events surrounding the foundation and early development of the Florennes communities. The primary sources for the foundation of the two communities are the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* and, more fully, Gonzo of Florennes's *Miracula Sancti Gengulfi*, the latter dating either to 1034 or 1045.³⁵ To these narrative sources must be added three documents – two *diplomata* from 1018 and 1033 respectively and a 1029 charter of Reginar of Liège.³⁶

The *Gesta* simply state that Gerard completed the work on a community dedicated to St Gengulf in Florennes which his father had left incomplete, that he founded a community dedicated to St John the Baptist in addition and consecrated both with the permission of Balderich II of Liège in whose diocese the churches lay. While Gerard made the former a community of canons, he made the latter a monastery which he placed under the authority of Richard of St-Vanne and the protection of Henry II.³⁷

Naturally the Florennes source gives more detail. Here it is said that Arnulf, Gerard's father, took in a refugee priest who had fled his lord in the Ardennes with relics of St Gengulf, and when on the saint's feast day, 6th May, the relics performed

³⁵ For a detailed discussion of the possible dates, see Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, p.261, n.8.

³⁶ *MGH DD III*, no.387, p.495; H. Bresslau (ed.), *MGH DD KII* (Hannover, 1909), no.202, p.272; V. Barbier, 'Documents concernant le chapitre de Saint-Gengoux à Florennes', in *Annales pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 2nd series, V (1888), p.391.

³⁷ 'Episcopi vero patre defuncto, ipse domnus episcopus apud Florinas, pro reverentia siquidem loci quo natus fuerat, immo et pro salute animae patris, et illud monasterium sancti Gengulfi, quod pater imperfectum reliquerat, ad finem perduxit, et alterum sancti Johannis ex rebus suis et fratrum suorum non tam pulchra aedificiorum quam forti operositate fundavit. Sed hoc quidem clericorum, illud vero monachorum, utrumque annuente Baldrico Leodicensium episcopo, in cuius parrochia sunt, consecravit. Denique illa abbatia domni abbatis Richardi regimonio commendata, sed et magni imperatoris Heinrici auctoritate firmata, coepit florere, ac postea magis magisque, Deo gratias, tam affluentia rerum quam sanctitate monachorum effloruit.' *GeC*, III:18, pp.470-71.

many miracles, Arnulf ordered the construction of a church for them. The church was consecrated by Notker of Liège during Arnulf's lifetime. Apparently separately from this development, Gerard, not yet bishop of Cambrai, had relics transferred from Rheims so that his father could build a church for them. Yet Arnulf died before he was able to do this, and Gerard and his brothers decided to complete the work. Their indecision about to which saint the new community should be dedicated was resolved by two occurrences. Firstly, Gerard had heard of a miracle in which John the Baptist appeared to a man and complained that there was no church dedicated to him in the diocese of Liège. Secondly it happened that the clerics of Rheims 'sine ullo occasione' decided to investigate their relics. Richard of St-Vanne was chosen to do this, and was discovered praying in front of the relics. He found some (labelled!)³⁸ joints of John the Baptist and gave them to Gerard at the latter's request.³⁹ Thus the church was dedicated to the Baptist, and was consecrated by Balderich II Liège (1008-29/7/1018). Later, Amalric, a man devoted to St Gengulf, saw one night a column of fire rising from the place where the relics of St John were stored. This was taken as an indication that the church should be changed from a community of canons to a monastery, since it had been monks who had saved some of the saint's bones from being burned by Julian the Apostate.⁴⁰ Twelfth-century sources give a date of 1010 or 1011 for the change.⁴¹ Whereas Dierkens has argued that Balderich II then (re)consecrated St-Gengulf and St-

³⁸ 'cum breviculo': Gonzo of Florennes, *Miracula s. Gengulfi*, col.694F.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, c.6, col.649. The story whereby Gerard celebrates Christmas in the church 'cum suis clericis' must rest on a misunderstanding by the author Abbot Gonzo, since Gerard was still a deacon at this time: *GeC*, III: 1, p.465; see Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, p.269, n.49.

⁴⁰ *Miracula s. Gengulfi*, c.8, col.650. The story had been told to Gonzo by Gerard himself, who had it from Amalric: 'domino Gerardo fideliter retulit, isque mihi postea episcopus narravit.'

⁴¹ *Annales Florensienses*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS XVI*, (Hanover, 1859), p.622; see also Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, p.470, n.87. Regarding a twelfth- or thirteenth-century inscription from Florennes, see Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, pp.264-65, n.25.



John-the-Baptist, E. A. Overgaauw has convincingly argued on the basis of his discovery of the martyrology of Florennes and a closer reading of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, that Gerard in fact consecrated the two on the 8th (St-John-the-Baptist) and 9th (St-Gengulf) October in either 1012, 1013 or 1014.⁴² Similarly sometime between then and the death of Arnulf II in 1015, Gerard and his brothers gave St-John-the-Baptist, St-Gengulf and the chapel of St-Aubin to the diocese of Liège.⁴³ Why they did so, and what they got in return is unclear.⁴⁴ In any case at some point between this gift and his death in 1018, Balderich subjected St-Gengulf to St-John-the-Baptist.⁴⁵ St-John-the-Baptist was also reconsecrated by Balderich's successor Reginar in 1026, according to the *Chronicon s. Andreae Castri Cameracesii*.⁴⁶

What stands out in this account is the discrepancy between the determined development of Florennes as the family's religious centre and the silence of the *Gesta* on precisely this point. This surely must count against any interpretation of the latter text which simply reads it as a reflection of Gerard's concerns and thoughts. At most, it reflects his beliefs vis-à-vis his role as bishop, since Florennes lay in the diocese of Liège and not in Cambrai-Arras. The author is simply only interested in Florennes in so far as it reflects his subject's piety. His centre of interest lies, as he explicitly states in the prologue, on the cities of Cambrai and Arras.

The second thing that is to be taken from this story is how multiple Gerard's contacts were on both sides of his diocese. This reflects of course his family's

⁴² E. A. Overgaauw, 'Un martyrologe de Florennes découvert à Düsseldorf (Univ. Bibl. MS. C1)', *Scriptorium* XLIV (1990), pp.95-97. For some reason, Overgaauw believes Gerard became bishop on the turn of 1012/1013, and so discounts a date of 1012, see *idem*, pp.96-97.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.97.

⁴⁴ But see below, p.51.

⁴⁵ Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, p.265.

⁴⁶ *Chronicon s. Andreae*, I:21, p.530.

background, half from Rheims, half from Florennes, but also shows how the *Gesta* author's insistence on the importance of the border with West Francia does not do justice to the realities either of politics, or, for that matter, of piety. The *Gesta* author's railing against Arnulf of Rheims sits in tension with the latter's aid to Gerard to complete his father's endowment. What we are witnessing is perhaps the opposite of what we might normally expect to have been the case. Whereas bishops were often chosen for their local family connections, through which they could enrich or at least defend the diocese,⁴⁷ there seems here to be a conflict between the topography of Gerard's contacts and that of his office. Indeed, the chronology would seem to indicate that he gave Florennes to the diocese of Liège shortly after his own elevation to the episcopate. This need not reflect any ideological favouring of the concept of the *Reichskirche* against that of an *Eigenkloster*. Instead, I would argue it bears the stamp of someone ordering his affairs to fit a new role in life. In fact, the impression we get of Gerard being 'institutionalised' into the role of shepherd of Cambrai once he reaches the episcopate may thus be not only due to the perceptual shift brought about by the entry *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* as a source at this point, although this is certainly a very great factor. It is realistic to suppose that Gerard's *actual* as well as attributed concerns would have changed with his elevation to the throne.

A key problem regarding Arnulf's relationship to Gerard is what Arnulf means by calling Gerard 'proximus noster communis' in a letter to Balderich II regarding the relics he gave to Gerard. The relevant section of the letter is worth quoting:

'Balderico Leodiensis ecclesiae episcopo Arnulfus gratia Dei Remensis ecclesiae nomine non merito archipraesul...fecimus cum proximo nostro communi Gerardo Arnulfi filio quod ipsa caritas monet et dilectio conjuncti ejus precibus et vincti dilectionis nexibus, sanctorum martyrum reliquias ut a nobis acciperet adquevimus et pro voto

⁴⁷ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI:40, pp.322-25.

petitionis praeciosissimum talentum contulimus ponderis, corpus scilicet domni et Deo dignissimi presbyteri Mauri et martyris, ... et tanto id libentius fieri decrevimus, quanto domni antecessoris vestri et sanctae memoriae viri nimiam erga huiusmodi rem novimus esse benevolentiam et eo amplius quo ipse locus in quo praedicti talenti conferendum est pondus in nomine Jesu Christi et consilio antecessoris vestri struitur et adhuc Deo donante augebitur, sicut oculis ipsi comprobavimus. Nunc autem quia feliciter victurus viam est universae carnis ingressus, ad vos quem vice ipsius benignitas Dei pastorem dedit convertimur, ut vestro consilio et adiutorio honorifice in vestro suscipiatur episcopio; quatinus juxta beatum Gregorium qui nos diligentius monet ut hic patronos modo quaeramus sanctos martyres quos habeamus defensores, ut pro tali beneficio et hunc apud justum iudicem patronum habeatis et defensorem. Ceterum ut rei quicquid reliquum est verius cognoscatis, ne sedes episcopalis patrocinio tanti frustraretur patroni, caput praedicti martyris quod apud nos in eburnea theca fuerat reconditum nobis reservamus, pro quo aliud eorum qui cum eo passi sunt vobis mittere dignum duximus, cum pro fidei terrena administratione honorem et gloriam et immarcescibilem totius beatitudinis possideatis palmam. Ob hoc ergo operae pretium duximus, hoc nostrum vobis intimare negotium, ut divini memores praecepti petitio nostri effectum capiat voti. Valete.’⁴⁸

The letter has to date to 1008-12, since Balderich II followed Notker as bishop of Liège in 1008, and Gerard became bishop of Cambrai in 1012. It would be odd indeed if the letter were from later and simply neglected to refer to Gerard’s status as Arnulf’s suffragan. Given the reference to Notker’s death, I would favour an earlier date, c.1008-9. Jean-Louis Kupper uses Arnulf’s reference to Gerard as his *proximus noster communis* to argue that Gerard, Arnulf and Balderich were related to one another.⁴⁹ A relationship between Gerard and Balderich II would be important in that it would link Gerard with the rebels Reginar and Lambert, who in turn had contacts in the Vermandois.⁵⁰ The alleged kinship of Arnulf and Gerard would be an even more

⁴⁸ *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, Part 1, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1889), pp.485-86, surviving in a late twelfth-century manuscript of saints’ lives following the *vita* and *miracula* of Gengulf and the *passio* of Maur, *ibid.* p.480. This seems to be the ‘martyrology’ Jean Molan paraphrases in *Natales sanctorum Belgii* (Douai, 1616), ff.177^v-78^v.

⁴⁹ Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale, XI^e-XII^e siècles* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège CCXXVIII, Liège, 1981), p.120, n.51.

⁵⁰ *GeC*, I:96, p.440.

significant conclusion. It would imply that Gerard was a *karlensis* in a stricter sense of the term, that of being a member of the Carolingian family, since Arnulf was the illegitimate son of King Lothar.⁵¹ Indeed Kupper is not the only person to link Gerard and Arnulf. In a similar vein, John R. Williams has argued that it was Arnulf and not Adalbero who was the *consanguineus* who brought Gerard to Rheims, and that the *Gesta* entry of 'Albero' is a mistake.⁵² Unfortunately, Williams's only evidence for his assertion is O. Holder-Egger's editorial note to his edition of extracts from the *Miracula S. Gengulfi*, where Holder-Egger claims that *proximus* here is synonymous with *propinquus*.⁵³ Whether this indicates that Williams misunderstood Holder-Egger or, what is more likely, that Holder-Egger misunderstood the letter is irrelevant.⁵⁴ Both the Williams/Holder-Egger suggestion and that of Kupper rests on the misunderstanding that *proximus* must mean 'relative'. While this is one possible meaning, others include 'neighbour', 'close friend' or 'fellow-man'.⁵⁵ There is therefore no evidence that Gerard

⁵¹ Karl-Ferdinand Werner, '10. Arnulf', *LMA*, vol.1.5, Cols1019-20.

⁵² 'The Cathedral School of Reims in the Eleventh Century', *Speculum* XXIX (1954), p.662, n.6. It would have been odd for the *Gesta* author to entirely fake his own patron's intellectual pedigree, and even odder, if it is simply a mistake, for him to elsewhere roundly denounce Arnulf's venality, cf. *GeC*, I:110, p.449. While admittedly Gerard was probably too young to have been brought up by Adalbero in any meaningful sense, exaggerating his patron's connections with the illustrious archbishop would be an understandable manoeuvre on the part of the *Gesta* author. The first editor of the *GeC*, Colveneere, clearly records the MS as having read 'Albero': *Chronicon Cameracense et Atrebatense*, George Colveneere (ed.), (Douai, 1615), p.267.

⁵³ 'Fuit [Gerardus] propinquus Arnulfi archiepiscopi Remensis', *MGH SS* XV.2 (Hannover, 1888), p.792, n.6, with reference to Arnulf's letter to Balderich as published by Jean Molan, see above, p.52, n.48.

⁵⁴ *propinquus* can normally only mean 'relative', cf Karl Ernst Georges, *Ausführliche lateinisch-deutsche Handwörterbuch*, 8th ed. (Gotha, 1913-18), p.2008 and C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879 [1998]), p.1470. It is just conceivable that Holder-Egger may have confused Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims with Count Arnulf of Florennes, who is mentioned in both the *Miracula S. Gengulfi* and the letter, but this would have made the archbishop Gerard's father!

⁵⁵ Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p.1470 lists *proximus* meaning 'neighbour' or 'fellow-man', citing Valerius Maximus and Quintilian, or, in its plural form, as meaning 'next of kin' or 'closest

was related to Arnulf, or Balderich for that matter, and no need to correct the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*'s identification of Adalbero rather than Arnulf as Gerard's patron in Rheims. While *proximus* does not necessarily mean that Gerard and Arnulf were 'close friends' – Gerard's position as canon of Arnulf's cathedral of Rheims is a sufficient explanation for the use of the term – what the letter does show is that Gerard and Arnulf did not (always) have the negative relationship that the author of the *Gesta* wishes to attribute to them. Regarding Gerard's *proximus* relationship with Balderich II, what this seems to indicate is that already before his appointment as bishop of Cambrai, in his capacity as canon, perhaps as chaplain, certainly as patron of Florennes, Gerard was already moving in ecclesiastical circles and being inducted into a world of shared education, norms, and values.⁵⁶ This is not to say that he was learning to become a civil servant in the Imperial Church System (Arnulf can hardly be included in that network) – the points of reference were a religion, an institution and an organisation common to all Christendom, quite apart from individual regnal loyalties.⁵⁷

Upbringing at Rheims

This brings us on to the topic of Gerard's upbringing. The *Gesta*'s description of Gerard's background is brief:

'Domnus imperator Heinricus, ut superius diximus, suorum principum unanimi consilio usus, Gerardo suo capellano, adhuc diacono, non infimis parentibus Lothariensium atque Karlensium edito apud Arvitum villam Saxoniae Kalendis Februarii donum largitus est episcopii. Hunc in puericia Albero Remensium archiepiscopus, pro consanguinitate, sed

friends', citing Cicero (including *De Officiis*), Caesar, Phaedrus, Gellius, Quintilian and Augustine (on Psalm 118 and Sermon 8). Niermeyer has no separate listing.

⁵⁶ Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages 800-1050* (Harlow, 1991), pp.238-39.

⁵⁷ For this point more generally, see Timothy Reuter, 'Eine Europa der Bischöfe' *passim*. For the definition of 'regnal', see Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1997), pp.253-54.

et pro praediis quae ex parte matris in ipsa terra habebat hereditario iure tenendis, secum permissione parentum abduxit, et sub regula canonica degentem familiariter educavit. Sub cuius liberali eruditione et normam aecclesiasticae religionis et mundanae disciplinam satis viderat honestatis.⁵⁸

Since Merovingian times it had been common to send children to be brought up within the church, either at a bishopric or a monastery.⁵⁹ This practice needs to be carefully distinguished from that of monastic oblation: there is no connotation of sacrifice. A closer parallel would be to the education of lay boys in the households of their fathers' relatives. Although no such relationship of *commendatio* is explicitly mentioned, and Adalbero is not referred to as Gerard's *nutritor*, this is presumably the intended relationship of the two.⁶⁰ Whether this was supposed to have been a personal relationship or Gerard was simply sent to be a canon within the community Adalbero had reformed and headed is impossible to tell. In any case, Gerard was too young when Adalbero died for such a mutually-beneficial relationship of *nutritor-nutritus* to develop. Although Gerard's kinship ties with Adalbero are unknown, the adjective *familiariter* might in this context imply that the education was supposed to strengthen a familial relationship between Adalbero, Gerard and the latter's immediate family.⁶¹ Meanwhile, his mother's lands were presumably intended to supply him with a prebend – the emphasis, made at least 35 years later, on his hereditary right to the lands would

⁵⁸ *GeC*, III:1, p.465; cf also *GeC*, I:122, p.454: 'communi suorum usus consilio, potius Gerardum suum capellanum estimavit donandum, de quo in tertio libro narrabitur.'

⁵⁹ Martin Heinzelmann, 'Studia Sanctorum. Éducation, milieux d'instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l'hagiographie et Gaule jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne', in Michel Sot (ed.), *Haut Moyen-Age. Culture, Éducation et Société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché* (La Garenne-Colombes, 1990), 129-33; for Carolingians see Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), pp.232-42.

⁶⁰ Mayke de Jong, *ibid.*, pp.199-200. Compare the relationship between Bruno of Cologne and Gerard's probable grandfather (Sub-)Duke Godfrey above, p.40, n.3.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.272-77.

seem to indicate they were not donated to the church of Rheims in any permanent fashion.⁶²

We can pinpoint Gerard's arrival at Rheims for certain no more exactly than the archbishop's pontifical dates, sometime between 970 and 988.⁶³ That Gerard is said to have been 'in his boyhood' is by itself no good indicator of his age when he went to Rheims. In the Carolingian period at least, young men at court would be called *pueri* until they were married – possibly in their thirties.⁶⁴ Gerard however died in 1051, so an extremely early birthdate of much before, say, 970 is unlikely. Additionally, the remark that Adalbero took him from his parents with their permission and educated him, rather than Gerard seeking out his relative for teaching, implies that Gerard was a minor when he entered the church of Rheims.⁶⁵ While there was no known minimum age for children to be entrusted to religious communities, *pueritia* as a precise legal category in Roman law covered the ages seven to fourteen, and in monastic communities at least adulthood began at the ages of 12 or 15.⁶⁶ Thus while this provides us with no *terminus post quem* – entering Rheims at the age of 14 in the first year of Adalbero's episcopate would make him roughly 95 when he died – he cannot have been born after 981, if he arrived at the age of seven in 988. A birth date in the 970s with entry later in that decade or in the early 980s is the most likely eventuality. Given that Gerard was senile when he

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.76, 239 (regarding oblates), 94 (for the case of Lambert of Schienen).

⁶³ Odalrich died in November 969 and Adalbero in January 989. Richer of Rheims, *Historiae*, Hartmut Hoffmann (ed.), *MGH SS XXXVIII* (Hanover, 2000), III:22, p.181, n.1.

⁶⁴ Matthew Innes, 'A place of Discipline': Carolingian Courts and Aristocratic Youth', in Catherine Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages. The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* (Studies in the Early Middle Ages vol. 3, Turnhout, 2003), pp.64-65.

⁶⁵ Compare Richard of St-Vanne seeking out Odilo of Cluny: *Vita Richardi Abbatis s. Vitoni Viridunensis*, D. W. Wattenbach (ed.), *MGH SS XI* (Hanover, 1854), p.282. Richard had also been sent to the Rheims cathedral as a boy: p.281.

⁶⁶ Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp.28-31.

died, I would favour a birthdate closer to 970 than 980.⁶⁷ In any case, Gerard was almost certainly too young to have been directly involved in the troubles of the West Frankish polity during the 970s and 980s, but probably old enough to experience the disputes between Gerbert and Arnulf in the 990s.

Gerard's age on entry is important to the question as to whether he was taught by Gerbert of Aurillac, who was schoolmaster at Rheims from 972 and then again, after a brief interruption to be abbot of Bobbio, from 984. A habit of assuming the maximum possible reach of Gerbert's influence has given way in the historiography to a more cautious approach, and Gerard, who once was counted among Gerbert's pupils, is now more often discounted. Certainly the more recent view would better explain the *Gesta* chronicler's failure to identify Gerbert as one of Gerard's teachers, despite praising the former as 'Gerbertus, quo litteratio postea nemo extitit.'⁶⁸ On the other hand, we have the evidence of Helgaud of Fleury that Queen Adelaide sent Robert the Pious to be educated under Gerbert.⁶⁹ Although Helgaud claims that Robert was sixty years old when he died in 1031, and so would have been born c.970, he is unsure.⁷⁰ Richer on the contrary mentions that Robert was eighteen when he repudiated his first wife Suzanna of Flanders in 991/2, which would place his birth-date slightly later in 973/4.⁷¹ Given Helgaud's uncertainty, the suspicious roundness of the number sixty and the fact that Richer was writing closer to Robert's birth, it is likely that Richer is the more reliable

⁶⁷ *Gesta Lietberti*, L. Bethmann (ed.), *MGH SS VII* (Hanover, 1846), c.2, pp.489-90.

⁶⁸ *GeC*, I:110, p.449.

⁶⁹ 'Fuit idem rex sapientissimus litterarum cujus prudentissimo cordi erant insita a Deo data perfecte sapientie dona. Nam a domna piissima matre schole Remensi traditus, domno Girberto ad erudiendum est datus, qui eum sufficienter liberalibus instrueret disciplinis, ut in omnibus Deo omnipotenti complaceret virtutibus almis, factumque sit.' Helgaud of Fleury, *Epitoma vitae regis Roberti pii* in Robert-Henri Bautier (ed. & tr.), *Vie de Robert le Pieux* (Paris, 1965), c.3, p.60.

⁷⁰ '...sexagenarius, ut credimus, opperiebat mortem intrepidus.' *Ibid.*, c.29, p.134.

⁷¹ 'R[othbertus] r[ex] cum in xviii aetatis anno iuventutis flore vernaret, Susannam uxorem genere Italicam, eo quod anus esset, facto divortio repudiavit.' Richer, *Historiae*, IV:87, pp.290-91.

source in this case.⁷² If Robert could be claimed to have been a pupil of Gerbert from the age of about 10, then this opens up the possibility again that Gerard was indeed taught by Gerbert too, at least after the latter's return from Bobbio in 984.

There are a number of possible explanations for the *Gesta's* reticence. One answer can perhaps be found in the subjects for which Gerbert was famous, namely the *quadrivium* of geometry, arithmetic, music and astronomy. Richer emphasises these aspects of his teaching, but a similar stress can also be detected in Gerbert's own

⁷² Helgaud wrote between 1031 and 1041: Bautier (ed.), *Vie de Robert*, pp.36-37: There is some debate as to when Richer wrote various parts of his *Historiae*, but it cannot have been later than 999: Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: the work and world of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), p.165. Neither author is particularly reliable, nor representative of contemporary royal biography or historiography, and both exist only in a single autograph manuscript, which suggests a lack of contemporary resonance too: Bautier (ed.), *Vie de Robert*, pp.30, 50; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die Historien Richers von St-Remi', *Deutsches Archiv* LIV (1998), 507. Compare Helgaud's *Epitoma* with Adalbold of Utrecht's *Vita Heinrici II imperatoris*, Hans van Rij (ed.), in *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1983), pp.44-95, or Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, H. Breslau (ed.), *MGH SRG LXI* (Hanover, 1915), pp.3-62. Helgaud's text is typical for hagiography, but his role in the development of Capetian sacralty can be exaggerated. Considering the virtually non-existent evidence of a medieval readership, it is difficult to see how statements such as, 'his version of Robert touched a chord in popular emotions' (Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making 843-1180*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2000), p.135), are justified. The *Epitoma* can only be considered a failed attempt to sanctify the king – the fact that *later* attempts were indeed successful does not alter this. Presumably contemporaries knew Robert too well to take Helgaud's version seriously; see Helgaud, c.17, pp.92-97. for his reaction to criticism of the king's morals. The case of Richer is more complicated, since the autograph may have made its way to Bamberg quite quickly (see Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (MGH Schriften 39, Hannover, 1995), pp.22-30; but Jason Glenn disagrees, per. comm.), and thus may not have been copied simply because it had little relevance to the Bamberger, rather than to any inherent failure on Richer's part. Even so, if we assume that the textual similarities with Hugh of Flavigny's *Chronicon* listed by Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Richer von Saint-Remi. Studien zu einem Geschichtsschreiber des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp.10-11, n.24, are sufficient, then there must have been another, French copy of at least Richer's third book, or possibly of a separate, lost '*Vita Gerberti*', also by Richer; see Jason Glenn, 'The Lost Works of Richer. The *Gesta Adalberonis* and *Vita Gerberti*', *Filologia mediolatina* IV (1997), 153-90, esp. pp.187-89 and n.105.

letters.⁷³ These were the fields in which a scholar might make his name known. In comparison, his curriculum for the *trivium* was conventional.⁷⁴ The *Gesta* does not praise its subject for any of the former, suggesting either that Gerard was never very good, or that he was too young to have benefited from Gerbert's teaching at the more advanced level. Alternatively, it may be that both Robert and Gerard were indeed too young, and our accounts of Robert's upbringing are exaggerated to associate him with the great schoolmaster who was to become pope. It is notable that Helgaud added his account of Robert's education by Gerbert after his first version had been finished, perhaps implying it was seen as an elaboration rather than a key part of Robert's biography.⁷⁵ In any case, although the *Gesta* emphasise the role of Adalbero in Gerard's upbringing, we have seen that this relationship can only ever have been a superficial one. While Gerbert may therefore not have influenced Gerard's life as a schoolmaster, he undoubtedly did so as archbishop. The reference to Adalbero's 'education' meanwhile, would seem to refer to the 'regula canonica' he introduced and we can presume that it continued to be followed for some time after Adalbero's death.

⁷³ Fritz Weigle (ed.) *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims, MGH Epp. D.K. II* (Weimar, 1966), no.92, pp.120-22 for rhetoric and music; no.134, pp.161-62 for arithmetic; no. 134 also deals with sending an astronomical sphere to Remi of Trier, as do letters 148, pp.174-75, 152, pp.178-79 and 162, pp.190-91; no.153, pp.180-81 for astronomy. Otto III refers to Gerbert's ability to explain arithmetic in his invitation to become his teacher: no.186, p.222. I have omitted from consideration the letters dealing with arithmetic which Harriet Pratt Lattin numbers 2-7 in her translation, *The Letters of Gerbert with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II* (New York, 1961), pp.36-47, since the very attribution to Gerbert is based at least partly on their content: p.29.

⁷⁴ Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac: le pape de l'an mil* (France, 1987), pp.41-2. Riché presses his argument too far when he tries to argue that Gerbert's pedagogy was radical here too: Riché's account is too sparse for such a conclusion. Compare Jaeger's assessment: *Envy of Angels*, pp.56-60.

⁷⁵ Bautier, *Vie de Robert*, p.22. Note too that Hugh of Flavigny also added his account of Gerbert, taken from Riché, in a marginal note as an apparent afterthought; see Jason Glenn, 'The Lost Works', n.105.

Reform and Rheims in the Late Tenth Century

We have an idea of Adalbero's religious efforts in the cathedral community thanks to Richer and the early eleventh-century *Chronicle of Mouzon*. Precisely when Adalbero started reforming the cathedral community in Rheims is unknown – presumably soon after he arrived ⁷⁶ – but Richer has left us a partial description of what Gerard's life was supposed to have been like:

‘Canonicos etiam qui in propriis hospiciis degentes, tantum sua curabant, iure communis vivere instruxit. Unde et claustrum monasterio addidit, in quo die morantes, cohabitarent, necnon et dormitorium, ubi noctu in silentio quiescerent, refectorium quoque ubi de communi condentes reficerentur. Legesque ascripsit, ut orationis tempore in ecclesia nihil nisi signo peterent, preter quod necessitatis afferret impulsio. Cibus una taciturni caperent. Post prandium, in gratiarum actione laudes deo decantarent. Completorio vero expleto, silentium usque laudes matutinas nullatenus violarent. Iam horoscopo pulsante excitati, ad laudes persolvendas sese prevenire contenderent. Ante horam diei primam, libertas egrediendi a claustro, nemini concessa erat, preter hos qui curis eorum insistebant. Et ne quis per ignorantiam quicquam faciendum relinqueret, sancti Augustini instituta, patrumque decreta cotidie eis recitanda indixit.’⁷⁷

How much of this description is conventional and how much accurate is impossible to tell with any certainty. Although Richer does not have the best reputation as an accurate source, his account may well stem from experience since he may have been a member of the community himself before he became a monk of St-Remi.⁷⁸ An additional reason

⁷⁶ Richer's description of the reformed community of canons (*Historiae*, III, c.24, p.183) is placed shortly after Adalbero's becoming bishop, following the passages on his refashioning the cathedral which Richer dates to 'in initio post sui promotionem' (cc.22-23, pp.181-82), and immediately before his seeking a privilege from Pope John XIII (965-72) for the reform of St-Remi (cc.25-29, pp.183-85).

⁷⁷ Richer, *Historiae*, III:24, p.183. For why *laudes matutinas* refers here to Matins rather than Lauds, see Jason Glenn, *Politics and History*, p.45, n.79.

⁷⁸ Carlrichard Brühl condemned Richer in typically pithy fashion: see *Deutschland – Frankreich*, pp.145-46, esp. p.146 nn.366-68. Jason Glenn discusses Richer's modern reputation more sympathetically in his *Politics and History*, pp.4-7, 9-14 and it is he who suggests Richer may have started his career as a cathedral canon; see *ibid.*, pp.21-24.

for believing Richer's report is its detailed listing of Adalbero's rulings. This contrasts somewhat with the corroborating evidence of the *Chronicle of Mouzon*, whose description is more general, serving mainly as a supposed contrast to the then-current state of things.⁷⁹ The other telling contrast between the two accounts is that whereas the Mouzon chronicler is interested both in the improvement in communal life and the worldly condition of the community, Richer concentrates entirely on the details of lifestyle. His community of canons is one of communal living, silence, prayer and instruction. While such a description may be accurate, it is difficult to tell whether its emphasis reflects a real emphasis in Adalbero's reform project.⁸⁰ After all, by the time he wrote his history Richer was a monk, and so might be expected to stress the communal and liturgical nature of Adalbero's work. In addition, our other sources for Adalbero's life, such as Gerbert's letters, emphasise on the contrary his political activities. Nevertheless, we must be careful not to over-correct. The letters as well have their own bias, and, as Timothy Reuter reminded us not long ago, we should not overestimate the political role of bishops at the cost of their religious or pastoral

⁷⁹ 'Inde ad Remensum suae sedis canonicam intendens animum, quales invenerit, quales reddiderit, quam rusticos et pauperes ac singulariter suis domibus vivere consuetos, quam religiosos, quam divites, ornatissimos, quam communiter et claustraliter vivere docuerit et monendo instituerit, beneficia parando, largiendo, res suas de manu potentiorum hortando, suadendo, terrendo, serviendo, redimendo et spe semper ad meliora tendens, ecclesiae quam regebat restituendo, non est meum dicere, cum situs Remensis claustris satis ista praedicet, communis etiam adhuc mensa fratrum ad ipsum testetur, et vix prae magnitudine et nobilitate quae tunc fuerat pauca vestigia illius rigidi ac canonici ordinis hodieque subsistant. Quae si ut singula quaeque relatu digna sunt dicere tentarem, nec verba quibusdam fidem facerent, neque hi qui ea acciperent, cum jam ex parte maxima dilapsa sint, ita tenuis facta vera dicta judicarent.', Bur (ed.), *Chronique de Mouzon*, p.170.

⁸⁰ The failure to distinguish between factual and representative reporting is one that plagues standard assessments of medieval historians, including Richer or Raoul Glaber. Just because a source can be shown to be factually reliable does not mean that its opinion is representative, and nor does an appreciation of an author's world-view absolve the modern reader of the obligation to check that author's accuracy. The two questions are entirely distinct. For a further discussion of these issues in relation to the debate on millennial apocalypticism, see pp.34-35, 186-87.

activities.⁸¹ Put in context, we have ample circumstantial evidence that Adalbero was indeed concerned with reforming the internal, as well as external, life of his community of canons.

The interest in making canons eat and sleep communally, and the construction of facilities for this purpose, was hardly new. In the *Institutio canonicorum*, the imperial assembly in Aachen in 816 called at the behest of Louis the Pious laid down a single rule for canons throughout the Carolingian Empire. Included in the *Institutio* were provisions for precisely such issues. Arrangements were to be made to allow the canons to live separated from the world outside.⁸² The principles of the common life, especially communal eating, sleeping, readings and silence, were laid out in canon 123 of the same council.⁸³ Finally, Richer's emphasis on the canons' behaviour following compline also mirrors one of the Aachen institutes.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Timothy Reuter, 'Europa der Bischöfe', pp.24-25.

⁸² '...necesse est tamen, ut claustra, quo clero sibi commissio canonice vivendum est, firmis undique circumdant munitionibus, ut nulli omnino intrandi aut exeundi nisi per portam pateat aditus. Sint etiam interius dormitoria, refectoria, cellaria, et caeterae habitationes usibus fratrum in una societate viventium necessariae.' *Concilium Aquisgranense*, Albert Werminghoff (ed.), *MGH Concilia* II.1 (Hanover, 1906), c.117, p.398

⁸³ '...studere debent ... ut quotidie ad conlationem veniant, ubi et hanc institutionem et aliarum scripturarum sanctarum lectiones perlegant et pro admissis veniam postulant et sententiam pro qualitate admissi suscipiant, ubi etiam de communi profectu et ecclesiae pertractent; ut omnes in dormitorio nisi quem infirmitas aut senectus id facere prohibuerit, dormiant. In refectorio quotidie una reficiantur, nisi forte quem necessitas abesse compulerit, et hoc non sine licentia magistri fiat. Illis quoque comedentibus et silentium religiose tenentibus continuatim legatur lectio et ab his intentissime audiatur. Ut vicissim in refectorio et caeteris communibus necessitatibus sibi fraternitatis officio serviant. Ut nullus foras nisi per licentiam egrediatur, egressus quoque nullum de se detractio locum det, sed magis imitabilem se cunctis exhibeat.' *Ibid.*, c.123, pp.403-4.

⁸⁴ 'CXXXVI. Ut ab omnibus canonicis ad completorium veniatur. Expletis religiosissimo obsequio horis competentibus diurnis officiis ab omnibus canonicis dato signo devotissime ad completorium caelebrandum veniendum est. Quo completo oportet, ut non aepulis et potationibus vanisque inserviant loquelis, sed his penitus postpositis humiliter et honeste dormitorium petant, et nequaquam duo in uno, sed singuli in singulis lectis quiescant. Lucerna quoque in eodem dormitorio noctis tempore iugiter ardeat.

Nevertheless, while the *Institutio* certainly provides a precedent for Adalbero's reform, it would be a mistake simply to assume that this was the rule under which Gerard was raised. It is not just that the rule, like that of Benedict on which it was based, provides an enormous amount of leeway on the infinite detail of running a religious community. Not even the existence of a ninth-century manuscript at Rheims proves anything about the *Institutio*'s actual enforcement there even at the time of its copying, let alone a century or more later.⁸⁵ Indeed, the repeated concern of Carolingian legislation for the decrees of 816 suggests that even in the immediately subsequent generations they were difficult provisions to enforce.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the existence of a tenth- or eleventh-century manuscript of the *Institutio* in Cambrai,⁸⁷ and, about the year 1028, the explicit reference to the rule in Bishop Wazo of Liège's debate with his own archdeacon John, shows that the contravention of these ideals does not mean that they were dead.⁸⁸ Irrespective of whether they were honoured more in the breach than in the

Nihil denique aut indecens in dormitorio geratur ab aliquo nec quispiam aliquem iniquaetare praesumat nec ad verba inutilia et otiosa prorumpere cogat. Huius vero capituli contemptor specialiter a praelatis et magistris severissime corripiatur.' *Ibid.*, c.136, pp.413-14.

⁸⁵ Rheims BM 789, listed wrongly in Werminghoff's edition as 'Remensis 705': *MGH Concilia* II.1, p.311. See Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland* (Bonner historische Forschungen XLIII, Bonn, 1976), p.248, n.102.

⁸⁶ Schieffer, *ibid.*, pp.245-46.

⁸⁷ Paris, BN Lat 1539. The rule is immediately followed from f.48^v by a calendar entitled, *Ordo Cameracensis et Atrebatensis ecclesiae, qualiter diebus dominicis vel festivitatis sanctorum agendum est*. Thus the manuscript reflects Richer's close association of communal life and liturgical round. The codex (116 folia in all) is completed by selections from Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae* (from f.50^v) and Usuard of St-Germain's *Martyrologium* (from f.57^r); see *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins* II (1940), p.59. Unfortunately I discovered this manuscript too late to be able to examine in personally, or in any detail.

⁸⁸ Anselm of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, Rudolf Köpke (ed.), *MGH SS VII* (Hanover, 1846), II:41, pp.211-15. As Schieffer points out, the letter also proves the validity of the Rule at Cologne under Pilgrim (1021-36), who, like Wazo's predecessor Durand (1021-25), had come from Bamberg. Thus we may not be seeing a continuous tradition, but instead symptoms of Henry II's reform of canonical life

observance, honoured they certainly still were. Schieffer has suggested that a ninth-century copy of the rule in the library of Bamberg cathedral, and known to have been there c.1100, may in fact have been a gift to the cathedral community at its foundation, and thus part of a wider imperial reform of the canonical life under Henry II.⁸⁹ Although here too it is open to question whether such a gift was practical or symbolic, it would in either case still reflect the importance of the *Institutio* two centuries after its promulgation. While the legislation may not therefore have been realised word-for-word either in the ninth or eleventh centuries, it certainly provided the blueprint and precedent for reform, and presumably did so in the tenth.⁹⁰ It would thus have been against the Carolingian backdrop of the *Institutio canonicorum* that Adalbero was signalling his religious commitment.

By reforming Rheims's community of canons, Adalbero was certainly profiling himself in the context of reforming ideals that went back not only to Louis the Pious but also to Chrodegang, the eighth-century bishop of Metz.⁹¹ It was at Chrodegang's foundation of Gorze that the younger Adalbero was educated before he came to Metz itself, and from where a mid-tenth-century *Vita* of Chrodegang, based on Paul the Deacon's *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, originates. Both texts describe Chrodegang's

based on his new foundation at Bamberg; see Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, p.255, n.133 and p.241, n.62 for Wazo's letter, and pp.256-57, 281-83 and 287 for Henry II and Bamberg.

⁸⁹ A question, which, in the specific context of Henry's reform, Schieffer does not enter into; see Schieffer, *ibid.*, pp.281-82

⁹⁰ Although Schieffer links the eleventh-century reform specifically with Henry II, he argues that it consisted of the introduction east of the Rhine of principles already existent in the West, including Lotharingia; see *ibid.*, pp.280-81, 285.

⁹¹ The following discussion relies greatly on Jason Glenn, *Politics and History*, 'Chapter 2: Cantor and Canon'. Nonetheless I take a different approach from Glenn, who takes one version of Chrodegang's Rule to reconstruct in an avowedly speculative manner what Richer's life in the cathedral community might have been like. I prefer to build up the background of standards against which Adalbero's reform operated, to construct a more impressionistic if less detailed picture.

reform of his community of canons. The shift between the two texts is interesting, since whereas Paul the Deacon's account is at pains to point out the assumption of Roman liturgy as part of Pippin's wider ecclesiastical reform, the Gorze text, while borrowing verbatim parts of the previous history, emphasises the reform of the community of canons's morals, and reduces the liturgical shift to a literary device comparing Roman 'urbanity' with Gallican 'rusticity'.⁹² Perhaps more significantly, it was at Metz that Adalbero had been a canon, under his uncle Bishop Adalbero I's tutelage.⁹³ The community of canons at Metz, it has been suggested, still operated under Chrodegang's rule.⁹⁴ Certainly Adalbero I of Metz saw himself as following in his eighth-century predecessor's footsteps, both in his patronage of Gorze and his building projects. Given

⁹² Compare Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, G.H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS II*, (Hannover, 1829), p.268, with the anonymous Gorze author: 'Nam clerum undecumque locorum collectum adunavit, et ad instar coenobii vivere intra claustrorum septa fecit, normamque eis instituit qualiter in ecclesia militari deberent. Quibus annonas vitaeque subsidia sufficienter largitus est, ut perituris vacare negotiis non indigentes, solummodo officiis excubarent. ... Ecce enim postquam illud Dei supernum adiutorium, quod assolet dare felicissimum posse his quibus dederat velle sanctum, sacerdoti dilecto annuit, ut Sancti Stephani suprema renovandi manus imponeretur, postquam egit Omnipotentis virtus suo illo auxilio interno ut claustro finis constructionis daretur, quia sciebant nihil utilitatis aut profectus in macerarium decore haberi, si dedint qui eas incolant aut inhabitent Deo servientes, vita purissimos viros sapientissimosque litteris coadunavit, ut diximus, et quanti haberet sanctae vitae religionem, ipse cum eis sancte vivens bene et perfecte demonstrabant. Et quia Gallicana rusticitas Romana urbanitate et praecipue cantus suavitate ac dulcedine necdum feroces animos oraque insueverat, qualiter per beatum Chrodegangum pontificem sancto studio factum fuerit edicere temptabo', *Vita Chrodegangi episcopi Mettensis*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS X* (Hannover, 1852), c.22, p.564. Paul the Deacon's account is not just closer in time but also closer in spirit to that of Chrodegang's Rule, which does make a point of emphasising the practice of (purportedly) Roman customs: see Josef Semmler, 'Chrodegang, Bischof von Metz 747-766', in Friedrich Knöpp (ed.), *Die Reichsabtei Lorsch. Festschrift zum Gedenken an ihre Stiftung 764* (Darmstadt, 1973), p.236.

⁹³ He was 'a puero educatus moribus' by his uncle, Adalbero I of Metz, according to the *Miracula s. Theoderici abbatis*, Martin Bouquet (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France IX* (Paris, 1757), p.129. Adalbero's predecessor at Rheims, Odalrich, had also been a Metz canon.

⁹⁴ For example by John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform. Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2001), p.97.

Adalbero's background there can be little doubt that it was Chrodegang that the Archbishop had in mind, and whom he was imitating when he set about his reform work in his new office.

Adalbero was also joining a long line of Rheims reformers and builders. As Jason Glenn has pointed out, a late ninth-century hagiographer, and, following him, Flodoard, attribute a reform of the Rheims community of canons to the late seventh-century archbishop Rigobert.⁹⁵ Whereas Glenn seems inclined to believe that the community of canons was indeed reformed that early, I would prefer to argue that the Carolingian hagiographer is projecting ninth-century expectations onto his Merovingian hero.⁹⁶ Thus Rigobert was the first to provide them with the wherewithal to live communally. As Glenn point out, this means Richer's comment that Adalbero, 'claustrum monasterium addidit', deserves closer inspection. According to Flodoard, Louis the Pious granted the cathedral rights over public roads which might obstruct the construction of cloisters and residences for the community of canons.⁹⁷ Charles the Bald also granted Hincmar rights over roads that were preventing the expansion of the

⁹⁵ Jason Glenn, *Politics and History*, p.37.

⁹⁶ 'Canonicam clericis religionem restituit, iuxta numerum quoque eorum, quotus illo in tempore erat, sufficientia et continua eis victualia constituit, quatinus divino culti liberius atque instantius insistere quivissent. Prius quippe quam exoptabilis hic altor ac pater eorum adveniret, non eis dabatur canonicus panis, et non erant, ut sunt hodie canonici, sed sicut matricularii: et ad haec res proprias cum habitatoribus earum illis contulit, qui singulis eorum necessitatibus perpetuo deservirent....Primus Remensium hic episcoporum fertur commune eis instituisse aerarium, generaliter illorum usibus in saecula profuturum.' *Vita Rigoberti*, W. Levison (ed.), *MGH SRG VII* (Hanover, 1920), c.2, p.63. See also Flodoard, *Historia*, II:11, p.161.

⁹⁷ 'Vias etiam publicas omnes, que circa eandem ecclesiam vadunt et impedimento esse possunt ad claustra et servorum dei habitacula construenda, ut transferri atque immutari possint, concedimus et si aliquid ibi fisco nostro habetur, per hoc nostre auctoritatis preceptum perpetuo eque concedimus.' Flodoard, *ibid.*, II:19, p.180.

cloister of canons.⁹⁸ Lastly Flodoard mentions a dispute breaking out ‘infra claustum canonicorum’ sometime in the 920s.⁹⁹ Thus it may well be, as Glenn has argued, that our sources are not lying when they allege the community of canons really had declined in the intervening 50 years. Alternatively, the reform Adalbero instituted has been exaggerated for rhetorical effect. The truth is likely to lie somewhere in between. Whatever the case may be, Adalbero was acting both within the context of Carolingian legislation, in line with his own background in Metz and within an indigenous Rémois tradition.

So Adalbero was operating within the tradition of his city. But his reform and the similar reforms of other bishops, including Gerard, can be understood less as part of an all-encompassing ‘movement’ of the late tenth or early eleventh centuries than as responses to perennial problems, the city itself among them. The need to protect the virtue of the religious, whether monks or canons, from the blandishments of the city, in a sense the need to protect the community proper from dissolution in the wider urban milieu, recurs in writing associated with reform, including but definitely not limited to that of the tenth century. It is clearest in monastic circles, partly because these authors could afford a more judgmental view of the laity than the canons who had to deal with their flocks on a daily basis. The *Vita* of Richard of St-Vanne, himself a former canon of Rheims, mentions how he opposed Haimo of Verdun’s expansion of the circuit of the walls to include St-Vanne, complaining that it disturbed the ability of the monks to pray:

⁹⁸ ‘Praeceptum quoque ipsius Karoli de via, que impendebat ad claustum canonicorum sanctae Remensis ecclesiae amplificandum, quoniam et numerum eorundem canonicorum augmentaverat, idem domnus Hincmarus obtinuit.’ *Ibid.*, III:10, p.209.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV:20, p.412.

‘Instabat etenim sollicite frequens eruderatoribus aggerum, aliquotiens vero perspiciebat eos per fenestras culminis portarumstrarum. Vir autem Domini ab hoc proposito eum revocare volens, coepit vehementer obsistere, dicens coenobitis indecens et incongruum intra civitatis moenia includi, ne dum fessis corporibus quietem noctibus indulgerent, seu matutinorum vigiliis adstarent, cornizantium aut vociferantium ululatus eis molestias inferrent.’¹⁰⁰

In this case, we may well be dealing at least in part with the specific complaints of the author, writing c.1100. A tenth-century St-Vaast manuscript of Regino’s canons contains twelfth-century marginal notes. One of them, next to canon 183, banning canons from entering taverns to drink, states: ‘Clerici qui non pro emendo aliquid in nundinis vel in foro deambulant ab officio suo degradentur’, a sentiment close in spirit to Adalbero’s reform.¹⁰¹ The later annotation of an earlier canon neatly encapsulates the eternal relevance of reform and discipline. Closer to our period, the author of the *Miracula s. Adelardi* complained about how the religious celebration instituted to mark peace between the people of Corbie and Amiens degenerated over time into a decadent festival.¹⁰² And the annotator of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* denounced the rebel abbot Fulrad, when he, having fled to Rheims, ‘in ipsa urbe turpem conversationem agebat, et cum Judeis negotia exercebat.’¹⁰³ It might be objected that what we are seeing is a topos, but I would contend it is reasonable to assume that the

¹⁰⁰ *Vita Richardi*, c.14, p.287. The *Vita* is from c.1100, but claims to be based on the stories of those who knew Richard, as well as on the continuation of the *Gesta episcoporum Viridunensium*, G. Waitz (ed.), *MGH SS IV* (Hanover, 1841), pp.45-51.

¹⁰¹ Arras BM 723 (675), f.30^r. The notes were most likely made by a cleric of Arras cathedral using the abbey library since the others also deal with clerical discipline (f.17^r), as well as with preaching (ff.32^v, 69^v) and issues of confession, penance and matrimonial law (ff.42^v, 50^v, 86^v, 87^v). One other note concerns banning secular judges from judging those who seek the refuge of the church (f.84^v).

¹⁰² ‘Sed procedente tempore, coepit aliquando res ipsa usu vilesce, et irreverentia fieri ex multa veneratione. Uterque siquidem sexus cachinnis et lusibus intendere, ordiri choreas, et irreverenter agere: et sic pene omnes corpora Sanctorum negligere. Displicuit res illa bonis et maxime monachis.’ *Miracula s. Adelardi*, AASS Jan 1, c.8, p.120.

¹⁰³ *GeC*, I:116, p.453.

problems of leading a cloistered life in a busy city must have been real. Such issues would have been all the more sensitive regarding canons who by definition had to live in the world as well.¹⁰⁴ Although the *Institutio* itself argues that the primary defence against ‘the invisible wolf’ is the spiritual one of reading Scripture, it is explicitly to support this activity that it prescribes the creation of the cloister with all the required facilities.¹⁰⁵ Adalbero’s reform shows him grappling with the issues of religiosity within the urban and secular environment and suggests that Patrick Wormald’s contrast of Anglo-Saxon monastic cathedrals with their canonical Continental counterparts can be taken too far in a period when at least one important Continental archbishop was busily ‘monasticising’ his canons.¹⁰⁶

Another context for Adalbero’s reform can be found in Adalbero’s own background, one which encompasses not just Rheims but Lotharingia as a whole. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* themselves tell us that he was educated in the

¹⁰⁴ Jason Glenn has suggested that the *curae* which, according to Richer, Adalbero allowed as an acceptable excuse to leave the *claustrum* might have consisted of pastoral care and preaching, as well as administrative duties: *Politics and History*, pp.46-47.

¹⁰⁵ ‘CXVII. Quod diligenter munienda sint claustra canonicorum. Praepositorum officii est, ut subditorum mentes sanctarum scripturarum lectionibus assidue muniant, ne lupus invisibilis aditum inveniat, quo ovile Domini ingredi et aliquam ovium subripere valeat. Et quamquam ab his hoc instantissime spiritaliter fieri oporteat, necesse est tamen, ut claustra ... circumdent munitionibus...’, *MGH Concilia* II.1, c.117, p.398; see above, p.62, n.82.

¹⁰⁶ Patrick Wormald, ‘Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast’, in Barbara Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp.13-42. The ‘monasticisation’ of the secular clergy is of course a much longer process, see Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, pp.240-41, where he places the ‘Monastisierung’ of the clergy in the *Regula Chrodegangi* and Louis the Pious’s *Institutio canonorum* in its wider historical context, and Charles Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant Saint Norbert* (Louvain, 1952), who studies canonical reform in one diocese in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. For further discussion of the *Institutio canonicorum* and the *Regula Chrodegangi*, see above, pp.62-66.

school at Gorze with the future bishop of Cambrai Rothard (980-95).¹⁰⁷ An enormous amount of ink has flowed trying to define the Gorzian (or Lotharingian) and Cluniac reforms, an opposition (*Gegensatz*) fruitfully, if erroneously, proposed in 1950/51 by Kassius Hallinger.¹⁰⁸ Hallinger's study was based primarily on a literalist reading of the *consuetudines*, yet, as a modern overview has argued, it is impossible to differentiate reform 'movements' or even centres according to liturgy, customs, fraternity/commemoration networks, or attitude towards the laity.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile, John Nightingale's study of Upper Lotharingian communities, including Adalbero's Gorze, demonstrates that reform did not necessarily mean economic revival either.¹¹⁰ The complexity of a given reform is well evoked by the story of Abbot Fulrad of St-Vaast,

¹⁰⁷ '[Rothardus] nec multo post ab Alberone Remensium archiepiscopo summa cum veneracione ordinatus est, utpote cum quo amicitiam et familiaritatem a puero tenebat, ex quo videlicet in scolis Gorgiensis monasterii pariter condiscipuli extiterant.' GeC I:102

¹⁰⁸ Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze – Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols, (Studia Anselmiana 22-25, Graz, 1971); see especially the introduction to vol.1, ch.2, 'Das Gesetz [!] des « Reformgegensatzes »', pp.417-27, where the idea of opposition between Gorze and Cluny is explicitly extrapolated from the presumed later 'opposition' of Cîteaux and Cluny (p.418). Note that 'Gegensatz' can also mean 'contrast' or 'conflict', depending on the context. Hallinger's repeated description of Cluniac reform as an 'attack' (*Angriff*) or 'assault' (*Ansturm*) and his unsympathetic contrast with the more 'open' style of monasticism he alleges was practised in Gorze and her affiliations may account for some of the subsequent controversy. See already Theodor Schieffer, 'Cluniazensische oder gorzische Reformbewegung? (Bericht über ein neues Buch)', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* IV (1952), 24-44, who, in a generally gushing review, criticised Hallinger for an excessively monolithic view of Cluniac monasticism: pp.36-38, 40-41. For a more recent and sober assessment of the issue, see the Reichenau papers collected in Raymund Kottje and Helmut Maurer (eds.), *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Vorträge und Forschungen XXXVIII, Sigmaringen, 1989).

¹⁰⁹ Matthias Werner, 'Wege der Reform und Wege der Forschung. Eine Zwischenbilanz', in Kottje and Maurer, *ibid.*, pp.247-69.

¹¹⁰ Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*. My thanks to him for lending me a copy of his PhD thesis on which the book is based. For a summary of his conclusions, see his article, 'Beyond the narrative sources: Gorze's charters 934-1000 AD', in Michel Parisse and Otto Gerhard Oexle (edd.), *L'abbaye de Gorze au X^e siècle* (Nancy, 1993), pp.91-103.

mentioned above. Although the *Gesta* condemn him for the irregularity of his lifestyle, alleging he squandered the monastic income on his mistresses, they themselves make clear the issue is in fact the abbey's claim to immunity from episcopal oversight.¹¹¹ Whatever the accuracy of the *Gesta*'s accusations against Fulrad, they are clearly being used to counter this claim to immunity.¹¹² Even when Fulrad is expelled with the help of Baldwin IV of Flanders, the replacement, Heribert, despite being very holy, was apparently not a very good manager and needed to be replaced in turn by Richard of St-Vanne.¹¹³ Issues of morality, law, management and politics intersected in this one case. Thus when we encounter other, less fully described cases of monastic or canonical

¹¹¹ 'In illo vero tempore Fulradus, falso nomine monachus, abbatiae preerat sancti Vedasti, qui, irregulariter vivens, prolationem sancti nominis exuebat dignitate honoris. Curis namque pastoralis sollertiae male posthabitis, plus nimio saecularibus negotiis implicabatur, ac lenocinante carnis desiderio, horreo dicere, speciem sancti habitus omnino mentiebatur. Quod enim in usibus aecclesiae sive fratrum deberet expendere, hoc nimirum, attat! per amicarum conciliabula turpiter profligabat. ... Hoc profecto versutus incentor ad ampliandas discordias cum subdola et verisimili assertionem addebat, se habere videlicet sancti Vinditiani ejusdem sedis episcopi privilegia, apostolica auctoritate confirmata, in quibus decretum esset, monachos sancti Vedasti non debere habere respectum ad pontificem aecclesiae Cameracensium; ex hoc sane falsam argumentationem trahens, quod beatus Vinditianus suo tempore omnes inquietudines a monasterio sancti Vedasti scripto precepto exclusit, ut quiete et secundum regulam sancti Benedicti monachi viventes Deo servirent; non ut inordinate et turpiter conversantes, veluti iste cum suis, a proposito desciscerent.' *GeC*, I:107, p.446.

¹¹² For a discussion of the alleged privilege, see Lotte Kéry, *Die Errichtung*, pp.256-60, and, for the political context of rivalries between Cambrai and the Flemish counts, pp.242-54. David C. van Meter contextualises the role of Baldwin IV (wrongly identified as Arnulf in the *Gesta* text) in this dispute in his, 'Count Baldwin IV, Richard of Saint-Vanne, and the Inception of Monastic Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders', *Revue Bénédictine* CVII (1997), pp.130-48, esp. p.133. Baldwin's activity in the under-researched area of the reform of canons' communities is investigated in detail by Brigitte Meijns, *Aken of Jerusalem? Het ontstaan en de hervorming van de kanonikale instellingen in Vlaanderen tot circa 1155* (Louvain, 2000), vol.1, pp.433-67. I would like to thank Brigitte Meijns for sending me a copy of her work.

¹¹³ 'Hic perfectae et inreprehensibilis conversationis ac religiosae simplicitatis plenus, sed ad tanta reparanda et reordinanda, quae suus antecessor destruxit, minus idoneus. Quare et huic amotam abbatiam Richardo religiosissimo viro comes, providente episcopo atque ordinante, moderandam commisit.' *GeC*, I:116, p.452.

reform, we can presume that the various Latin words used, whether *renovare*, *restituere*, *corrigere* or a longer, clichéd description, meant different things depending on the problems –moral, liturgical or economic – a given community faced, always assuming that in a given case such reforming vocabulary was not simply code for a change of political control.¹¹⁴

In fact our assumption that the various attempts to renew, restore or correct communities are ontologically part of a single phenomenon or movement relies in part on our assumption that they needed to be restored after a single ‘tenth-century collapse’, generally thought to have been brought on by the Vikings and Magyars.¹¹⁵ I say ‘in part’, because there was certainly a single rhetoric of reform which included the topos of blaming the barbarians for any material and, indirectly, moral decline.¹¹⁶ Yet we must distinguish the generally-accepted premise that impoverished, badly-run or lax communities should be reformed from the idea that there was a single-minded movement to revolutionise the canonical or monastic life. Both canons and monks already had universal benchmarks in the form of the Aachen legislation of 816-17, not

¹¹⁴ Theodor Schieffer, in his review of Hallinger’s book, complained that the narrative sources simplify the contexts ‘in einer geradezu irritierenden Weise, indem sie ihrem Bericht mit Vorliebe ganz naiv eine ethische Note geben’; ‘Cluniazensische oder gorzische Reformbewegung?’, p.24. We might share Schieffer’s irritation, but we should not discount the fact that leaders can lose control of their organisations. While we may not accept the moralising attitude of the reform sources, we should accept that some abbots may simply have been bad at their jobs, whether as politicians, disciplinarians or estate managers. See already Charles Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers*, p.44: ‘les difficultés proviennent le plus souvent de la mauvaise gestion d’un abbé ou de l’agitation créée par quelques factieux. ... D’ailleurs [the reformers] visent souvent une modification de coutumes plutôt qu’un rétablissement des mœurs.’

¹¹⁵ The title given by Paul Hyams to the section of his Internet Medieval Sourcebook dealing with tenth-century (predominantly West) Francia: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>.

¹¹⁶ Anna Trumbore has recently demonstrated this with regard to Aquitaine: ‘Religious Houses in Poitou in the Wake of the Norman Incursions’, paper given at the *International Medieval Congress* (Leeds, 12-15 July, 2004).

to forget, in the monastic context, the Rule of St Benedict itself.¹¹⁷ The principle of *una regula*, if not *una consuetudo*, had long been accepted. What remained was the problem of realisation or enforcement, and that of necessity differed from place to place and time to time.

Only Cluny seems to have differed from this general incoherence, at least from the abbacy of Odilo (994-1049).¹¹⁸ It is this Cluniac model that is misleading in its apparent self-sufficiency and radical rejection of the outside world. While we may doubt how separated Cluny became from the neighbouring laity, Odilo does seem to have promoted the house's links with its own daughters at the expense of those with the wider ecclesiastical community, and have emphasised a stricter form of renunciation than at least some of his fellows.¹¹⁹ If Adalbero of Laon is to be believed, and admittedly his contemporary reputation would imply that he should not, then Odilo denied the fitness of the secular church to lead Christendom and sought to put his own monasticism at its head instead.¹²⁰ If this is the case then Gerard of Cambrai's choice of

¹¹⁷ For further discussion of the Aachen legislation for canons, see above, pp.62-64.

¹¹⁸ Josef Semmler, 'Das Erbe der karolingischen Klosterreform im 10. Jahrhundert', in Kottje and Maurer (eds), *Monastische Reformen*, p.62 and Werner, 'Wege der Reform', in the same volume, pp.257-58, 262. The case for treating the Cluniac reforms as different has recently been restated by Joachim Wollasch, 'Monasticism: the first wave of reform', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1999), pp.174-85.

¹¹⁹ The best modern interpretation of Cluny's relations with its lay donors is Barbara Rosenwein's *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the social meaning of Cluny's property* (Ithaca, 1989); Cluny's progressive self-exclusion from the wider monastic environment is noted by Joachim Wollasch, 'Totengedenken im Reformmönchtum', in Kottje and Maurer (eds), *Monastische Reformen*, pp.162-65. Contrasting oneself with other ecclesiastical organisations is not the same however as cutting oneself off from the laity.

¹²⁰ Adalbero of Laon, *Poème au roi Robert*, ed. & tr. Claude Carozzi (Paris, 1979). The *Carmen* is to be dated to the 1020s or 1030s, and may be seen in the context of Odilo's attempts to free his monastery from episcopal oversight, attempts which were finally successful in 1028 and which Adalbero of Laon must not have looked on kindly. Note too that there are outstanding editorial issues with the *Carmen*, and parts of it may reflect later, internal Cluniac debates; see Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Adalbero von Laon und sein »Carmen ad Rotbertum regem«. Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Edition', *Francia* VIII (1980), 636-37.

Richard of St-Vanne to reform his monasteries ceases to look like a conscious choice of someone who supported the principle of episcopal authority, and it may well have been that Richard never even considered, let alone explicitly rejected, the (after all, relatively new) centralising Cluniac policy.¹²¹ On the contrary, it is Cluny's rejection of this authority that is the oddity demanding explanation, and Gerard's support of Richard becomes in this light simply a piece of mainstream reforming activity. The claim that this was Richard's policy is made after all by the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* in the specific context of warding off claims by the abbey of St-Vaast to immunity from episcopal oversight.¹²² Certainly, Richard's hand-picked successor, Leduin, was quite happy to use the same forged charters which Fulrad had produced to get the abbey's alleged immunity confirmed by Gerard in 1031.¹²³ Instead of treating Gorze, or for that

¹²¹ Dauphin's discussion of Richard's attitude to Cluny is a sober one, but assumes that already in Richard's time Cluny's centralised model, as opposed to the reputation of its head Odilo, was a clearly defined factor in monastic reform: Hubert Dauphin, *Le bienheureux Richard, abbé de St. Vannes de Verdun, †1046* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 24, Louvain, 1946), pp.339-45. Yet, as the efforts of Sabbe, Dauphin and Hallinger make clear, conflicts between former Ricardian and centralised Cluniac monasteries only arose at the end of the eleventh century; this is best explained by assuming that it was only then that the Cluniac policy was perceived as potentially all-embracing, perhaps because it was only then that it was perceived as a policy at all. Joachim Wollasch has pointed out that it was during the time of Abbot Hugh (1049-1109) that Cluny began to be referred to as an *ecclesia Cluniacensis* in the sense of an autochthonous monastic church inside the universal Roman one; even after its reform by Odo of Cluny in the 930s, Fleury remained a royal monastery: Joachim Wollasch, *Mönchtum des Mittelalters zwischen Kirche und Welt* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 7, München, 1973), pp.154-55, 151.

¹²² See p.12, and below, n.123.

¹²³ Jean-François Lemarignier identified a pseudo-privilege of Bishop Vindician of Cambrai (c.670-713) and a pseudo-privilege of Pope Stephen II (752-77), which allegedly confirms that of Vindician at the bishop's personal request (!), as the documents the *Gesta* mention Fulrad as having used: 'L'exemption monastique', pp.335-40. (The two privileges as well as Gerard's 1031 confirmation were to be found in the late twelfth-century cartulary of St-Vaast, and are published in E. van Drival (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras rédigé au XIIe siècle par Guimann et publié pour la première fois, au nom de l'Académie d'Arras par M. le Chanoine Van Drival*, (Arras, 1875), pp.18-22, 22-25 and 61-63 respectively. It should be noted that there are outstanding editorial issues with Guiman's cartulary; see

matter Richard's communities, as Hallinger and Sabbe respectively did, as some sort of *alter*-Clunys, we can instead see its school as one manifestation of a wider tenth-century ecclesiastical culture.

Henri Stein, *Bibliographie générale des Cartulaires français ou relatif à l'histoire de la France* (Paris, 1907), p.30. It survived in any case only in a sixteenth-century copy, which was destroyed during the First World War. There is another copy of the pseudo-Vindician in MS Douai BM 795, ff.67v-69v, which I have seen. The differences between this and the cartulary copy are due to poor copying: Lemarignier, p.339, n.3. According to the pseudo-privileges, neither the bishop nor any royal or comital power was to enter the community or its *castrum*, hold feasts or courtcases, or do anything there, without the permission of the abbot. If there were to be a reason for the bishop to come, he could only do so if called by the abbot or the monks. Nor can anyone commit harassment, arrest bandits, exercise jurisdiction or requisition warhorses in the monastery or its castle or in a list of named properties and their appendages. In a 1031 charter confirming these rights, Gerard refers to having held Mass in Arras and given a sermon to the people, whereupon he was shown a *libellum* by Abbot Leduin and the monks: 'inter ipsa missarum solempnia, facto sermone ad populum, quoddam nobis ab abbate et fratribus oblatum est libellum quod a beato Vindiciano ejusdem sedis episcopo, de munitione ipsius loci fuerat compositum.' p.61. This *libellus* was certainly the pseudo-Vindician (see Lemarignier, 'Exemption', p.337, n.1). Given that the section of the *Gesta* dealing with the Fulrad's use of the pseudo-Vindician was written in 1024-25, Gerard undoubtedly knew of the charter's existence, and whether Leduin ambushed Gerard with it or not, the 1031 charter is a somewhat reserved confirmation. Where the abbey's version says that no bishop is to enter, hold feasts, courts or do 'anything, unless with the permission and will of the abbot, who will be the prelate of the place, and with the single will of the monks' ('...neque aliquis episcopus, nostrorum videlicet successorum, neque comes, nec aliqua regia vel judiciaria potestas presumat illorum ingredi monasterium sive castrum, neque ibi convivia exstruere, neque placita, nec aliud quid facere, nisi permissu et voluntate abbatis, qui prelatus fuerit loco, unaque cum voluntate monachorum.' p.20; my emphasis), Gerard's version forbids him to enter 'forcibly and with strength' and to create any disturbance ('...nullus successorum, neque comes atque aliqua regia potestas vel judicaria presumat cum vi et fortitudine illorum ingredi monasterium sive castrum, neque ibi extruere convivia aut placita exercere, nec aliquam inquietudinem facere.' p.62). Where the abbey's version points out, twice, that if the bishop has reason to come, he should only do so if called by the abbot or monks, (Si autem talis extiterit caussa [sic], ut merito Episcopus accersiri debeat, non aliter veniat, nisi vocatus ab abbate vel a monachis: aliter (ut diximus) nec ipsi nec alicui liberum ingressum consentimus.' p.20), Gerard's specifies that if he has reason to come, 'let him come, called by the abbot' ('Si autem extiterit causa ut merito episcopus accersiri debeat, vocatus ab abbate veniat.' p.62). While it is of course impossible to establish whether the changes were made with Leduin's consent, Lemarignier's (and others') contention that Gerard and Leduin were allies and not in conflict is therefore to be moderated somewhat: each acted as he should have, in the interests of his institution.

The entire thrust of the preceding discussion of Adalbero's Rheims has striven to place it in the wider ecclesiastical and intellectual context of the tenth century. C. Stephen Jaeger has recently drawn attention to the importance of episcopal schools in forming manners of thought and action in the High Middle Ages.¹²⁴ Jaeger's work is important precisely because it draws attention to the importance of the cathedral schools in a period well before the 'twelfth-century renaissance', and serves to bridge the gap between that historiographical phenomenon and its Carolingian predecessor. Unfortunately, rather than demonstrating how a continuous tradition adapted and changed as each generation passed, Jaeger claims something much bigger and it is that argument which I must briefly seek to rebut now.

Jaeger argues for a developmental model where an age of charismatic teachers such as Gerbert in the tenth and eleventh centuries gave way to the institutionalised schooling and curricula of the twelfth and thirteenth.¹²⁵ This fits with other work done on what R. I. Moore has called 'First European Revolution', work which places the bureaucratisation of governance, whether ecclesiastical or secular, at the heart of societal developments.¹²⁶ In this respect the centralisation of Cluny and its contrast with

¹²⁴ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*. See also his earlier *Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939-1250* (Philadelphia, 1985).

¹²⁵ Note that Carolingian education is similarly described as 'slightly mechanical': Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p.24. For Jaeger, Carolingian education was monastic, Ottonian humanistic and Capetian scholastic: *idem.*, pp.325-26.

¹²⁶ R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c.970-1215*, (Oxford, 2000); see also Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton, 1994). Interesting in this regard for its explicit parallelism with contemporary history is Timothy Reuter's comment on the change in the nature of the German episcopacy: 'Europa der Bischöfe', pp.27-28. The idea that the bureaucratisation itself rather than the extension of royal government denotes a qualitative change is drawn for medieval studies from Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993). Note that these historians would not necessarily associate their work with each other and while I would argue that their efforts are thematically related, I do not mean that their results are the same or even always compatible.

the looser associations of the rest of the Western church becomes paradigmatic – even prophetic – of a wider historical change.¹²⁷ Yet when I call Jaeger's claim 'developmental', I do not want to suggest that Jaeger's sympathies lie with the 'moderns' of the later period. On the contrary, his story is a nostalgic one of desiccation if not decline.¹²⁸ On the one hand, this limits the potentially radical nature of his critique of older paradigms. Whereas his work could be used to show up how statist assumptions have coloured medievalists' approach to intellectual culture, whether that by favouring the centralised Carolingian renewal or the proto-universities (especially Paris) of the twelfth century, instead it becomes something of an exercise in 'me too-ism' whereby he tries to make what had seemed the weakness of the tenth-century intellectual tradition – its apparent lack of institutional base – into a charismatic strength.¹²⁹ In so doing Jaeger draws on much work done on individual schools and schoolmasters, mainly although not exclusively in the Empire.¹³⁰ In at least one case, he claims a

¹²⁷ In his groundbreaking article on Richard of St-Vanne, Sabbe argued that Richard's reform gave way to the Cluniac one precisely because he failed to centralise his communities into an order: 'Notes sur la réforme de Richard de Saint-Vannes dans les Pays-Bas', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* VII (1928), 567-70. The implication is that this is what he *ought* to have done, if only he had known better.

¹²⁸ Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp.14, 189-92. In an appendix on high Gothic sculpture, Jaeger claims that 'By [1180-90], the human grace and beauty that astonished the gods and made angels envious has passed out of the province of teachers and into that of sculptors.' p.348. In his *The Origins of Courtliness*, p.225, Jaeger refers to the period up to c.1150 as a 'period of greatness' after which the episcopate 'sank back into mediocrity', presumably 'back' into that of the Carolingian period!

¹²⁹ Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp.7-9, 76-87, 189-90, and see below, n.130.

¹³⁰ Another aspect of the 'me too' approach typified in his work is Jaeger's eagerness to place Germany in the centre of the story, a zeal most visible in his *Origins of Courtliness*, pp.6, 179-83, 268-72, although note the denial in the very last paragraph at p.272. There too his argument is weakened by a refusal to challenge the teleological nature of the model; instead he just pushes the beginning of the civilising process earlier and further east. For a consideration of the ninth-century situation, see Janet L. Nelson, 'Ninth-Century Knighthood: The Evidence of Nithard', in *The Frankish World 750-900*, (London, 1996), pp.75-87 (first published in M. M. Mackenzie & Charlotte Roueché (eds), *Images of Authority: Papers Presented to Joyce Reynolds on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.194-205) and more recently, *idem.*, 'Was Charlemagne's Court a Courtly Society?', in Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture*,

master-pupil relationship, between Gerbert and Fulbert of Chartres, which seems not to have existed.¹³¹

On the other hand, his argument points up another key issue – to what extent we can read experiential differences from those of the evidence base. The nostalgic tone of Jaeger's narrative reveals that his claim is not just that the structures of learning changed but that the experience of learning did too. This in turn fits into a large literature on what, if any, effects literacy has on the individual.¹³² There is certainly plenty of evidence that bureaucratisation has a social and economic impact.¹³³ The effects, both benign and malign, of state involvement in the socio-economic sphere are a hot topic of debate in social scientific circles.¹³⁴ Indeed it has been cogently argued that written records, as opposed to memorized ones, by being recoverable over space (in, say, a book) rather than time (in a recital) allow easier cross-referencing.¹³⁵ This is therefore emphatically not just a theoretical argument. Nevertheless, I would want to argue against a model that saw the expansion of bureaucracy or institutionalisation as having a direct experiential, psychological or cognitive effect on the generations that

pp.39-57. For a recent polemical overview, see Dominique Barthélemy, 'Modern Mythologies of Medieval Chivalry', in Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), pp.214-228.

¹³¹ Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, p.47.

¹³² Jaeger himself connects his argument to that of the implications of literacy, but claims that this has got more attention 'than the more embracing category, the transition from real to the symbolic, from physical to textual presence': *Envy of Angels*, p.190. It is hard to see the advantage in replacing the vague categories of literate/illiterate with yet vaguer ones.

¹³³ This is the thrust of Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance*. At no point does Geary argue for a cognitive shift in experience but instead seeks to show how certain groups within society usurped the role of others in the creation of memories, more specifically how monks with control of writing displaced female oral authorities.

¹³⁴ Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity. Outgrowing Communist and Capitalist Dictatorships*, (New York, 2000).

¹³⁵ R. Narasimhan, 'Literacy: its characterization and implications', in David R. Olson and Nancy Torrence (eds), *Literacy and Orality* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.177-97.

underwent it, and so most strongly against Jaeger's conceptualisation. After much discussion on the effects or lack of same of literacy on the mind, scholarly consensus has, I think, settled onto a denial of fundamental cognitive differences between literates and non-literates. The apparent cognitive differences perceived by anthropologists, and for that matter psychologists working with illiterate people in industrialised societies, are now recognised as having been illusions of the anthropological method. It was not just the literate but the academic nature of the study that created the differences between literate and illiterate in failing to capture the normality of the latter.¹³⁶

The consequence of this insight for our understanding of Jaeger's argument is that we have to firstly assume that any difference in how teaching and learning is depicted in our sources from different periods or places is most probably an illusion of those sources. To repeat, a change in the source base is itself a change in need of explanation and a change with its own effects. Yet such changes cannot be captured in a schematic Weberian approach which simply contrasts a charismatic with a bureaucratic scholarly culture. At no point in the Middle Ages, after all, were teachers and their presence (in both senses of the word) unimportant, and Richer's account of Gerbert's teaching of the *trivium* emphasises the curriculum – the written texts – as much as if not more than the pedagogy itself.¹³⁷ It is, in the final analysis, his choice of authorities as much as his innovation, that makes Gerbert a respectable as well as renowned teacher. This description therefore in fact gives the lie to the only way in which Jaeger's developmental model could have worked. There might have been some room for arguing that a period in which each school, or even each teacher at each school, chose

¹³⁶ What differences were observed seem to have been differences in the respective communication genre rather than cognition; see Carol Fleischer Feldman, 'Oral Metalanguage', in *ibid.*, pp.47-65.

¹³⁷ Although note that Jaeger dismisses Richer's account as a 'throwback to Carolingian educational values': *Envy of Angels*, p.393, n.18..

his own manner and content of education in competition with others gave way to a more standardized and interconnected intellectual world. Yet this is certainly not the case. The basic curriculum of the cathedral school was little different from that of centuries earlier, and if any age was the age of competing charismatic teachers it was that of Abelard, not Gerbert.¹³⁸

Moreover it is far from clear that Jaeger's more particular claim, that a secularly-minded education system, centred on the teaching of good civil behaviour (*mores*) was replaced by a monasticised one, is the case.¹³⁹ Much of Jaeger's evidence comes from episcopal *vitae*, which are by definition concerned with life in the world. While the topic of the appropriate balance between worldly and spiritual activities is one which became particularly acute during the Investiture Contest, it is another thing to argue that the debates had much practical effect on episcopal lifestyles or duties, as opposed to the relationship with the emperor. Indeed, in his *Vita* of Bruno of Cologne, the archbishop who, for Jaeger, represents both the origin and the pinnacle of the Imperial Church System, Ruotger already in 968/9 explicitly alludes to criticism of Bruno for being too worldly.¹⁴⁰ It is difficult to determine whether Albert of Metz, writing between 1021 and 1025, depicted Bishop Ansfrid of Utrecht as hermit-like because this was a new episcopal ideal or because Ansfrid went blind and thus asceticism was the only ideal open to him.¹⁴¹ Jaeger makes much of the conflict between John, the Archdeacon of Liège, and his bishop Wazo, with the former defending the traditional public role of the secular clergy against the monasticising tendencies of the latter.¹⁴² Yet the letter of Gerard of Cambrai, a bishop who features so strongly in the historiography (including

¹³⁸ M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard. A Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997).

¹³⁹ Much less the argument that Carolingian education was uninterested in behaviour.

¹⁴⁰ Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, c.23, pp.212-13; Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp.36-48.

¹⁴¹ Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS IV* (Hanover, 1841), I:14, p.707.

¹⁴² Jaeger, *Envy of Angels*, pp.204-9.

Jaeger's book) as an imperial bishop *par excellence*, attacking John for being too close to local secular lords should serve to moderate our view of the Liège dispute. Finally, while Jaeger's interest may move elsewhere as the sources for ecclesiastical education become more abundant in the later period, the tradition of episcopal *vitae*, including those which emphasise worldly activity, runs well into the twelfth century.

Yet Jaeger's developmental model is not just empirically flawed. Theoretically, of course, it would be possible to formulate such a vision which did match empirical reality. Nonetheless, if such a model might work it could only do so on a large scale. Indeed it is one of the weaknesses of Jaeger's approach that he makes his argument on the basis of few case studies; it is unclear what differentiates these from mere anecdotal evidence. Yet any developmental model will inevitably have problems in coping with the specific. No broad sketch can cope with the detail the study of an individual or individual source demands. It is inevitably tempting to use such models as ready-made contexts for a more specific study, but there is a serious risk of their distorting results. In particular, there is a risk in assuming that attributes of one period were necessarily recognizably present in another. Most commonly, this results in teleological interpretations, but the assumption that the conditions of one period necessarily reflect on a later one, even within a single human lifespan, may also be illusory. The party lines of a person's youth may be different from those of their prime or senescence.¹⁴³ These issues are relevant to Gerard since he has been characterised as someone who is between two worlds. It is assumed that he is characteristic of some intermediate period between a Carolingian order which began to fall apart with the civil wars of the tenth century and a reforming, monastic/papal order culminating in the Gregorian Reform.

¹⁴³ I would like to thank Jack Straw and Peter Hain for highlighting this point.

The Investiture Contest casts a long shadow over studies of the ecclesiastical politics of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It is too easy to assume that the political ‘contrasts’, to use Hallinger’s word, of that period are already at work, if only in embryonic form, in the preceding period.¹⁴⁴ When we encounter a figure such as Abbo of Fleury, the temptation would seem irresistible. It is also the case that the broad aim of the Gregorian Reform, keeping the church free of worldly influence, was also an aim and a debating topic at this earlier time. But it was not so much that the fronts had not yet hardened as that they had not even formed at all. In our period, we should not see people as having taken sides because there were ‘still’ no sides to take: I have already referred to the criticism levelled at John of Liège both by the ‘reformer’ Wazo and the ‘imperial’ bishop Gerard.¹⁴⁵

The conflict between Gerbert of Aurillac and Arnulf for the see of Rheims seems to have tested loyalties. Both Notker of Liège and Gerbert were supposedly ‘imperial’ bishops, yet their friendship cooled distinctly after the Rheims schism.¹⁴⁶ The author eulogises Gerbert, and ascribes the opposition in favour of Arnulf to ‘certain bishops’ but does not mention that Notker may well have been one of them.¹⁴⁷ Erluin of Cambrai, who had been a cleric of Notker’s at Liège before becoming bishop, is said by the *Gesta* author to have avoided consecration at Rheims because of the dispute over the

¹⁴⁴ Hallinger’s ‘Gegensätze’ are admittedly extrapolated from a later period still, see above p.70, n.108.

¹⁴⁵ When Wazo refuses to send troops against Godfrey the Bearded in support of the Henry III, we *may* see this as reform scruples, but the incident dates to the 1040s. Alternatively, Wazo may simply have been trying to play both sides of the political game, or genuinely believed Godfrey was in the right. Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale*, p.134.

¹⁴⁶ Weigle (ed.), *Briefsammlung*, no.193, pp.234-35.

¹⁴⁷ ‘ventilantibus tamen quibusdam episcopis’, *GeC*, I:110, p.449; Notker was at the synod which banned Gerbert from carrying out his duties, but it is unknown which side of the dispute he settled on. See Richer, *Historiae*, IV:99, p.300 and IV:106, pp.305-6.

see.¹⁴⁸ The undoubtedly pro-imperial Cambrai author seems to have glossed over Notker's (and possibly Erluin's) falling out with Gerbert, perhaps because of Gerard of Cambrai's Rheims background. Rothard of Cambrai had been educated at Gorze with Adalbero of Rheims, and was another protégé of Notker of Liège, so the evidence does not point to a simple rivalry between Rheims and Liège.¹⁴⁹ Assuming *a priori* pro- and anti-reform or pro- and anti-imperial camps fails to explain the sources. In addition, tracing the links between churchmen is necessary but not enough: these links must then be politically contextualised. We must expect the significance of such links to shift with the times and political position of the figures in question, not to serve as indicators of political allegiance in themselves.

The distinction between making the links and politically contextualizing them is best demonstrated for our subject by reference to Bautier's analysis of the 1022 Orléans heresy trial, a trial that in fact has links to Gerbert.¹⁵⁰ Bautier discovered that what had in the previous historiography been treated simply as a case of heresy also concerned a dispute between rivals for the bishopric of Orléans, Odalrich and Thierry. The former was connected to Robert the Pious's rival Odo II of Blois, and was the choice of the canons of Orléans. The latter had links to Robert's wife, Constance of Arles, and was the royal appointment. Although the heresy certainly existed – only two abjured their beliefs rather than be burnt alive – the trial was part of an attempt to get at Robert via

¹⁴⁸ Anselm, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, c.29, p.205; *GeC*, I:110, p.449.

¹⁴⁹ It was Notker who suggested Rothard be appointed to Cambrai: *GeC*, I:102, p.443. He also twice intervened in *diplomata* on behalf of Rothard: *MGH DD* II.1, no.72, pp.479-80, and no.164, pp.576-77. Note that Adalbold of Utrecht, whom the *Gesta* depict as an ally and possible friend of Gerard's, was also one of Notker's students: *GeC*, III:9, p.469; 20, p.472; 22, pp.472-73; Anselm, *ibid.*, c.29, p.205

¹⁵⁰ Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XI^e siècle: Documents et hypothèses', *Actes du 95^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims 1970. Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610, I: enseignement et vie intellectuelle (XI^e-XVI^e siècle)* (Paris, 1975), pp.63-88.

his wife. The links with Gerbert are to be seen in the profession of faith which Archbishop Gauzlin of Bourges, who had been Abbo's successor as abbot of Fleury, proposed after the Orléans trial – it matches very closely that of Gerbert after his deposition.¹⁵¹ This is not a coincidence, since as Bautier was able to demonstrate, Fleury was still struggling with the memory of the tempestuous period of Abbo's rule, including the tensions with Gerbert and Arnulf of Orléans. Bautier shows how Helgaud, writing twenty or more years after the event, does not mention the heresy trial, or indeed Abbo's conflict with Gerbert, but does single out the archbishop for praise.

In spite of the connections between the politics of 1022 and those of Gerard's youth in Rheims, I think there is a distinction to be drawn in their impact on Gerard himself, a distinction which must modify our view of the relations between intellectual circles and politics. Gerard held a heresy trial himself in January 1025 in Arras, a trial that should at least in part be seen as a reaction to that of Orléans.¹⁵² The link between the two events was made already by Bautier, but R. I. Moore has rightly pointed out that whereas our evidence for Orléans points to an intellectual heresy, that for Arras indicates ideas of a much less scholastically worked-out nature.¹⁵³ In other words, if Arras is to be

¹⁵¹ Andrew of Fleury, *Vie de Gauzlin*, ed. and tr. Robert-Henri Bautier and Gillette Labory (Paris, 1969), pp.98-102. The editors compare Gauzlin's and Gerbert's oaths on p.98, no.2. Gauzlin's oath is apparently written down and thus supposed to guarantee the orthodoxy of future clerics: 'Previdens autem in posterum uti christianissimus cultor, suae professionis cultum posteris tali reliquit sub titulo, quam in conventu generali fratrum hujus modi protestatus est exordio', p.98. Weigle, *Briefsammlung*, pp.207-9.

¹⁵² *Acta synodi Aretabensis in Manichaeos*, J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* [henceforth *PL*] CXLII, cols.1269-1312. For a consideration of the political context, see below, pp.155-169.

¹⁵³ R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Oxford, 1985), pp.285-89. Moore would have this case be one of 'genuinely popular dissent' (p.288), but it seems to me to be an example of passive anticlericalism. Compare what Gerard says about 'impious people and sinners' in a letter to Leduin of St-Vaast regarding the Arras cathedral fire of 1029 30: 'Solent enim de nobis dicere ministris aecclesiae: "Hii sunt pastores populi, qui non vere pastores sunt, sed lupi. Comedunt enim peccata populi, quia fructus aecclesiae in stipendio cotidiano percipiunt; sed nec orationis studio nec praedicationis verbo nihil penitus insudant.'" *GeC*, III:32, p.478. There is no trace of heretical doctrine here. In fact, Gerard ends

seen as a reaction to the events of Orléans, then it is limited in an important respect. Robert's political enemies were able to use the real heretics in the Queen's entourage to mask their attack successfully as one intended to protect Christendom. It may well be that Gerard, in choosing to discover heretics whose beliefs allegedly reflected those of the Orléans circle in the French part of his diocese, was signalling, at a time of political resurgence for the French king and of weakness for Cambrai, his own credentials as a protector of orthodoxy in terms that would recall the recent moment of Robert's embarrassment. The specific circumstances of Robert's waxing strength and Gerard's vulnerability will be dealt with in a later chapter. Here it is sufficient to note that despite the surface resemblance between the two trials and apparent links with earlier conflicts over the see of Rheims, the circumstances of the 1020s were quite different and cannot be made to make sense simply as part of a narrative arc stretching from the Carolingians to Gregory VII. Precisely what the circumstances of the 1020s in fact were will be the subject of much of the rest of this thesis.

the letter on a telling note: 'Et tamen non possumus negare, quia vera sunt multa, quae de nobis cotidie insultando stupent diffamare.' *GeC*, III:32, p.479. For other incidents that can be interpreted in this light, see the story allegedly told by Adalbero of Utrecht to Gerard, and included in the *Gesta*: III:22, pp.472-73, as well as that in Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum*, I:17, p.709. For a discussion of medieval skepticism, see Susan Reynolds, 'Social mentalities and the case of scepticism', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., I (1991), 21-41. The one element in the Arras account that might speak against this interpretation is the mention of an Italian, Gundulpho, having taught the heretics their beliefs: col.1271C-D. Bernard Hamilton, 'Wisdom from the East: the reception by the Cathars of Eastern dualist texts', in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (eds), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.39-41, has used this reference and the list of beliefs that follows to postulate a connection with eastern Bogomilism. Nonetheless, the two interpretations are not mutually exclusive: what was *taught* as heresy might have been *heard* as anticlericalism. I would like to thank John Arnold for his thoughts on how modern historians recapitulate medieval distinctions of orthodoxy/heresy, and how many cases of what the medieval Church (and following it, we) classed (and still class) as heresy may in fact have been simply scepticism vis-à-vis the clergy and clerically-formulated doctrine. Hans Eberhard Mayer formulated the problem clearly and succinctly in reference to the Crusades: 'what is at issue is not Church doctrine but to what extent society found that doctrine acceptable', *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., John Gillingham (tr.) (Oxford, 1988), p.313.

CHAPTER 2

THE *GESTA EPISCOPORUM CAMERACENSII*

The main source for the career of Gerard I of Cambrai is the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, and this whole chapter will therefore be devoted to it. After an initial introduction of the source, I will recap and comment on Erik van Mingroot's as yet unchallenged dating of the work to 1023-24. The chapter will then move on to discuss the manuscript transmission. Particular attention will be paid to one manuscript, the *Codex Sancti Gislei*, which, although now only preserving the first two of the *Gesta*'s three books, is the autograph. It therefore merits a full codicological description which will allow me to draw some conclusions not just about the work's manufacture but also about its date and use. The above detail work will then feed into my discussions of genre, historiographical method and finally purposes and audiences of the work.

Introduction

Traditionally, while the whole *Gesta* including the continuators have collectively been called the *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, the first three books up to and including the episcopacy of Gerard I have been distinguished by the title *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.¹ It is largely these three books with which we will be concerned here, and, unless otherwise specified, future references to the *Gesta* will be to these books alone.

The first book deals with the history of the diocese of Cambrai and Arras² up to the death of Gerard I's predecessor, Erluin.³ The second is an extended catalogue of the

¹ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', p.282, n.3.

² 'de antiquitate nostrarum urbium, Camerici videlicet atque Atrebatii, sed et de earum quoque pastoribus memoriae commendavimus', *GeC*, I:P, p.402.

religious foundations under the authority of the bishop.⁴ The third is an account of the deeds of the patron of the work, Gerard I himself.⁵ It is clear that this schema was intended from the start.⁶

The author was a canon of the cathedral church of St Mary's, Cambrai,⁷ who had grown up in the area, even if he was not born there,⁸ and who knew Bishop Gerard I.⁹ He wrote the *Gesta* in Cambrai, as various references to 'this/our city' make clear,¹⁰ at the bishop's request.¹¹ He had already completed a version of the *Vita Gaugerici*, also at Gerard's insistence.¹² It is this other work that explains Gaugeric's virtual absence from the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.¹³

Dating

The MGH editor Bethmann believed the *Gesta* to have been written 1041-3, but Erik van Mingroot has convincingly shown that it in fact dates predominantly to 1024-5.¹⁴ Van Mingroot's argument is nevertheless very complex, and while his dating for books I and II is secure, the third book features a number of later interpolations whose chronology and dating are by no means fully clarified. So here I will first recapitulate

³ *GeC*, I:122, p.454.

⁴ 'de monasteriis quae infra ditionem episcopii sunt', *GeC*, II:Pref., pp.454-45.

⁵ *GeC*, I:122, p.454, III:52, p.485.

⁶ *GeC*, I:122, p.454; II:Pref., p.454-55.

⁷ *GeC*, I:85, p.432; II:11, pp.458-59; II:23, p.460. For this and following, cf *MGH SS VII*, p.393.

⁸ *GeC*, II:5, p.457: 'pauca ex his quae vel ipse iuvenculus moderno tempore vidi'.

⁹ *GeC*, III:12, p.469; III:22, p.472.

¹⁰ *GeC*, I:4, p.404; I:23, p.410; I:103, p.443; I:114, p.451; II:29, p.461. But note the author also expresses 'ownership' of Arras: I:P, p.402; I:7, p.406.

¹¹ *GeC*, I:P, p.402: 'Precipiente domino nostro episcopo Gerardo'.

¹² For discussion, see P. van den Bosch, *Acta altera S. Gaugerici episcopi confessori*, *AASS Aug II*, pp.668-70.

¹³ *GeC* I:12, p.407.

¹⁴ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', *passim*.

van Mingroot's arguments for dating the first two books, then discuss the problems of the third. At this point I am concerned simply to detail the basis on which the dating rests and to point up a few open issues. Van Mingroot's work was based entirely on content, and my own suggestions and modifications, growing from my manuscript study, will be left for the section on codicology.

The First Two Books:

Books I and II are securely dated.

A *terminus post quem* is provided for the first two books in II:29, which deals with an event datable to the 28th year of the reign of Robert the Pious, most likely the year beginning 24th October 1023, but possibly just referring to 1023.¹⁵

Book II, the catalogue of monasteries, makes no mention of the abbey of St Andrew in Câteau-Cambrésis, which was consecrated in September 1025, so this must form a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁶

These findings are confirmed by information elsewhere in Book II. In II:2 the construction work on the cathedral (1021/3) is described as recent (*'nuper'*).¹⁷ In the next chapter Gerard I's brother Eilbert is described as a monk: since he was abbot by 1025, Book II must have been finished by then at the earliest.¹⁸

Indeed, a comparison with another text makes it probable that the *Gesta* were first started in 1024. The author of the *Gesta* had also written the *Acta S. Gaugerici*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.321-2. Yet regnal years could also be dated from the beginning of the year in which the king was crowned, cf. the comments of Maurice Prou, 'Une charte de Garin évêque de Beauvais. L'assemblée de 1023 ou 1024', Société nationale des antiquaires de France, *Centenaire 1804-1904 Recueil de mémoires* (Paris, 1904?), p.384. The diploma of Otto I copied into the *Gesta* and granting St-Géry to Cambrai cathedral is dated in this manner.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.320.

¹⁷ *GeC*, II:2, p.455.

¹⁸ Van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.316.

which he describes there as his first work, and to which the *Gesta* make reference.¹⁹ The reference in the first book of the *Acta* to the meeting of Henry II and Robert the Pious gives the *Vita* a *terminus post quem* of 11th August 1023.²⁰ In the prologue of the *Acta*'s third book, the author then refers to a fever that stopped him from writing for 'almost two months.'²¹ Given that chapters I:13 and 15 of the *Gesta* are reliant on respectively paragraphs 65-66 and 69 later in that same book, the *Vita* must have been complete to this point before the *Gesta* were begun.²² It is therefore difficult to see how the latter can have been started before 1024.

Bethmann's suggestion that Book II must be dated to after 1040 because the community of Hénin-Liétard (II:23) was founded by 'Robert of Arras' in that year is dismissed by van Mingroot.²³ The date is itself based on an assumption about the dating of the *Gesta* and 'Robert of Arras' need not refer to Robert II of Béthune (1033-67) as traditionally assumed, but possibly Robert I *Fasciculus* (1012-37) or to a Robert who was one of the *vicedomini* representing the bishop of Cambrai in Arras.²⁴

We can therefore conclude that the *Gesta* were begun in 1024 and Book II finished by September 1025.

¹⁹ For the identification of the author with that of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, see the comments of the *Acta Sanctorum* editor, P. van den Bosch, *Acta altera S. Gaugerici episcopi confessori*, AA SS Aug II, pp.668F-669A. For it being the author's first work, see *Acta*, p.676A; for the *Gesta*'s cross-reference: I:12, p.407 and II:4, p.456.

²⁰ *Acta Gaugerici*, I:1:8, p.677D.

²¹ 'De cuius [ie his task] sane infirmitate recenti adeo totus et dolore contabui et timore obrigui, ut in his duobus fere mensibus mei etiam pene immemor, et stylum et tabulas abhorrerem, nullique studio, praeter luctum et lacrymas, indulgerem.' III:P, c.62, p.688F.

²² See van den Bosch, p.669B. After the completion of at least the first two books of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, the author returned to the *Acta* and added an appendix. Thus while chapters I:13, p.408 and I:15, p.408 of the *Gesta* are reliant on the *Acta*, the reverse is true for the latter's appendix: see van den Bosch, *Acta Gaugerici*, pp.669F-670A.

²³ Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, p.393, n.9.

²⁴ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.325-30.

Book Three:

The dating of the third book poses much greater problems because sections have clearly been interpolated. The narrative and chronological consistency of the first two books disintegrates towards the middle of the third. Bethmann wrote here of the author gathering material for later reworking,²⁵ but van Mingroot has persuasively argued on the basis of dating inconsistencies between sections of the third book and the rest of the *Gesta*, that the confusion concerns a number of later interpolations. The problems divide into a number of categories, which we will deal with here in turn. First we will look at two chapters in the earlier, still narratively consistent section of the book, then with the series of letters forming the block of chapters III:28-34, and finally the explanation for the narrative confusion that is a feature of the last part of Book III.

The Abbot Herbrand mentioned as in office in III:21 was abbot of St-Ghislain from 1024/9 to 1045/6 or possibly 1051/2. Waleran, abbot of Homblières and Count Odo of Vermandois, both mentioned in III:23, held these titles respectively from 1025 to the end of 1043 and from before 1010 to 25th May 1045.²⁶ Both chapters can therefore be dated to 1025-43. There is thus no contradiction here between the dating of the first two books and that of the third up to this point.

Some of the episcopal letters which make up the block III:28-34 can be given rough dates. I will deal first with the more securely datable ones, III:28 and 32-34, and then with letters III:29-31, which are all different versions of the same letter regarding alleged irregularities on the part of Adalbero of Laon. Letters of course, like charters or

²⁵ Bethmann, *MGH SS*, VII, p.393: 'capita 35-60 autem nec temporum ordinem servant, ut priora, nec bene digesta sunt, sed adnotata tantum et in chartam coniecta quasi ad usum futuri libri'.

²⁶ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', p.323.

any other 'external' document, only provide us with a *terminus post quem* for when they were included in the *Gesta*.

The first letter (III:28) is addressed to the archdeacon John of Liège. John became archdeacon under Bishop Wolboldo in 1018, then provost of St Lambert in 1021. Thus we can date this letter fairly precisely.²⁷

Letter III:32 concerns a fire in the monastery of St Mary in Arras that is datable to 1029/30. Presumably the letter is from not much later.²⁸

The Abbot G. to whom letter III:33 is directed is probably Gonzo of Florennes and as such would be from after 1028/9.²⁹

In letter III:34 to Bishop Fulk of Amiens about Drogo of Théroutanne, the latter is referred to as having been the former's cleric, and the letter must therefore be to Fulk I, and thus datable 1030 x 1036.³⁰

The other letters are more problematic. Van Mingroot places the three letters (III:29-31) campaigning against Adalbero of Laon's attempt to designate his own successor in 1022/3. However he does this only by assuming that the references to the sale of offices in the letter means that Adalbero was trying to extort money for the succession and that with death approaching he would not have had the leverage to succeed.³¹ It is however questionable both how literally we are to take Gerard's admonitions about simony and whether age would have necessarily dulled Adalbero's influence. Indeed van Mingroot's calculation of 1022/3 as being safely distant from the bishop's imminent death is based on P. Gams's 1873 *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.303.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.304.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.304-5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.305.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.304.

Catholicae where Adalbero is pronounced dead in 1030.³² In fact, while he is last attested in 1030/1, at which point he was about 80 years old, his successor does not appear in the sources until 1043.³³ The dating of these letters must therefore remain vague: sometime during the episcopate of Ebalus of Rheims (1021-33).

There are then a number of subsequent chapters which cannot be fitted into the earlier dating established for the first two books and much of the first half of the third. Firstly, chapter III:48, which consists largely of a *semilatinus* sermon of Gerard's, mentions Bishop Hugh of Tournai (1030-44) and Count Baldwin IV of Flanders (988-1035). Thus this chapter can only date from 1030-35.³⁴

By far the most complex dating problem in Book III is in c.49. The chapter mentions the foundation of St Andrew's, which provides a *terminus post quem* of September 1025³⁵ and includes a list of lands given to the abbey. Van Mingroot shows however that the author cannot have used any of the three extant charters for the abbey, neither that of Conrad II (1033), nor Gerard I's episcopal charter, nor that of Henry III, both from 1046. Indeed, all three charters were kept in St Andrew's, not in Cambrai. In fact the author mentions one allod, Ham, which according to our 1046 sources had already been granted out, and four other properties which appear in none of the charters and which therefore must have come to the abbey only after 1046.³⁶ Van Mingroot's

³² *Ibid.*, p.303, n.139.

³³ Robert T. Coolidge, 'Adalbero, Bishop of Laon', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* II (1965), pp.92-3. Coolidge dates the controversy to 1029 on the basis of the chronology of the subsequent letters in the *Gesta*. If van Mingroot is correct however in identifying these as interpolations, then this date no longer carries any special weight: *ibid.*, p.90, n.119 and see below.

³⁴ van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.306. The text refers to '*comitis quoque Balduini et filii eius*'. According to van Mingroot, this must refer to Baldwins IV and V since the next latest date for the events, the death of Walter II of Lens in 1041, is too early for a son of Baldwin V, who married in 1028, to be full-grown: *idem*, p.306, n.161.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.284.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.285.

ingenious explanation for these inconsistencies is that the Cambrai-based author was working from (a faulty) memory, some time after 1046.³⁷ In any case, we can be sure it was written after Gerard I's death in 1051, since it is said here that the bishop cared for the abbey 'as long as he lived'.³⁸

We are therefore faced with an apparent inconsistency. We know that the *Gesta* were, from the start, intended to cover the history of the diocese up to and including the episcopate of Gerard I.³⁹ Yet the first two books can be firmly dated to 1024-5, whereas the third, on Gerard, seems to come from the 1030s at the earliest, and at one point from after the bishop's death. The gap demands explanation, in particular given that on another occasion when the author had to interrupt his task, for illness, we are told of it.⁴⁰ Secondly, if Book III was written much after the first two, the absence of any account of the 1025 synod of Arras against the heretics becomes very striking. Indeed the gaps in the narrative between 1025 and 1036 (III:50-51) and lack of any closure to the account are all the more mysterious if the book were written later than if they were simply notes toward a future book.⁴¹

Van Mingroot begins to find a solution in similarities between the closing section of Book III and the first 15 chapters of the *Gesta Lietberti*, the account of the deeds of Gerard's successor and the next section of the *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*.⁴² He notes that c16 of the *GL* follows exactly on from its predecessor although it does not mention Lietbert's 1054 to late 1056 pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.285-6. But note that elsewhere the author is careful to use extant charters: compare e.g. *GeC*, I:77, pp.429-30 with *MGH DD* I, no.39, pp.124-26 and I:108, pp.447-48 with *MGH DD* II.2, vol. 2.2 (Hannover, 1893), no.72, pp.479-80.

³⁸ 'quam pia sollicitudine fovit quamdiu vixit', *GeC*, III:49, p.484; van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.288.

³⁹ See above, p.87, n.6.

⁴⁰ *GeC*, II:8, p.458.

⁴¹ Bethmann's explanation for the chronological confusion after III, 34: *MGH SS* VII, p.393.

⁴² Henceforth *GL*.

For van Mingroot this indicates a double authorship.⁴³ Another clue that at least the earlier part of the *GL* might have been written before the rest was completed up to Lietbert's death in 1076 is the comment in c13 that the author writes of 'the remaining deeds of the bishop'.⁴⁴ This, as van Mingroot says, would be an odd formulation if it were referring to the full 22 years worth of deeds Lietbert had ahead of him at this point.⁴⁵ Additionally two independent sources, the *Chronicon S. Andreae* and Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon*, cease to use the *GL* as a source only after 1054.⁴⁶ More interesting from our point of view are the stylistic connections van Mingroot draws between the *GL* and the closing sections of the *Gesta*.⁴⁷ Bethmann had also argued that the *Gesta* must have been written during Gerard's lifetime because the author refers to him as *domnus episcopus*, whereas the *GL* were written after 1076 because the same title was rarely given to Lietbert.⁴⁸ Nevertheless this is no strict rule. Gerard is not always given the full title, but is granted it in the post-1051 chapter III:49 as is elsewhere Fulbert, bishop from 933/4-956.⁴⁹ Lietbert, in the supposedly post-1076 *GL*, is also referred to as Lord Bishop.⁵⁰ This latter phenomenon only occurs in the first fifteen chapters of the *GL*, in other words it was used by what van Mingroot considers the first author. Additionally, both Book III of the *Gesta* and cc.1-15 of the *GL* frequently call the respective bishops by name, whereas the later author of the *GL* does

⁴³ Van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.295-96.

⁴⁴ *GL*, c.13, p.494: '*gesta pontificis quae restant*'.

⁴⁵ Van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.296-97.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.299.

⁴⁷ For the following and other comments on stylistic similarities, including the first author's 'exotic style', see *ibid.*, pp.308-11.

⁴⁸ Bethmann *MGH SS VII*, p.393, n.10 for Gerard I, and p.396, n.31 for Lietbert.

⁴⁹ *GeC*, I:71-73, pp.426-27 and I:76, p.429. In I:122, p.454, Gerard's predecessor Erluin is titled *domnus*.

⁵⁰ Van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', p.297.

so only once – in c.16.⁵¹ The same author would therefore seem to be responsible for the first section of the *GL* and at least some of the *Gesta*. That we cannot be talking about one author for all the *Gesta* and these 15 chapters can be deduced from the fact that there is no mention of Lietbert at the end of Book I, where only work on Gerard is projected.⁵² We are therefore looking at three authors for the *Gesta* and *GL* – one (*A*), having written the *Vita S. Gaugerici* in 1023-24, who went on in 1024-25 to write Books I and II and at least intended to write Book III, a second (*B*) who ‘finished’ Book III as we have it now, and then began the *GL*, writing between 1051 and 1055, before Lietbert went on pilgrimage, and a third (*C*) writing after 1076, and completing the *GL* from c.16.

A double authorship of the *Gesta* begs the question of where *B*, writing after Gerard’s death, came in, or rather, which elements of Book III are to be attributed to which author. For there are clear signs of interpolation. Thus III:49, whose ending, listing lands given to St Andrew’s between 1025 and 1051, can certainly be ascribed to *B*,⁵³ noticeably fails to dovetail with the opening of III:50, ‘*Diebus posthaec*’, referring to 1024. Indeed III:49 begins with the words ‘*Ex quo*’ and goes on to relate events beginning in 1023, whereas III:48 can, as we have seen, be dated to 1030-35.⁵⁴ Letter III:34 is from 1030-35, yet III:35, recounting the activities of Henry II around July 1023, opens with ‘*sub hiis diebus*’. These features, alongside the fact that letters III:32-35 are given, unlike those in III:28-31, no authorial introduction, seem to indicate that they are interpolations.⁵⁵ We see the implications of this in the wider chronological structure of the latter part of Book III. Here we have letters III:28-31, interrupted by

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.298.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.299.

⁵³ See below, pp.96-97; van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.306.

⁵⁴ See above, p.92; van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.307.

⁵⁵ Van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.305.

letters III:32-34, followed by two blocks of narrative about the Emperor (III:35-38) and the negotiations with Walter (III:39-47) respectively. After this the structure is broken again by III:48-49 dealing with after 1030, before returning to the political narrative of 1024-25 for III:50.⁵⁶ Van Mingroot therefore ascribes the interpolations, as well as chapters III:51-60 to the second author, and the original narrative to the author of Books I and II. Given the dates of the interpolated letters, this gives us a *terminus ante quem* for *A* of 1029/30. In fact, as van Mingroot points out, given the speed with which *A* completed Books I and II, a 1025 date is most likely.⁵⁷ This would also be suggested by Duby's observation that the focus of the narrative tightens considerably towards the end, with all the original chapters from III:27 dealing with the years 1023-24/5.⁵⁸

There remains the oddity of III:49 which, according to van Mingroot, follows on from the original III:47 with the words '*Ex quo*' while then going on to describe the rebuilding of the cathedral church of St Mary in Cambrai as lasting until 1030 and whose list of donations to St Andrew's must have been written after 1051. Van Mingroot argues that, while the opening of the chapter is by *A*, the rest is an interpolation by *B* who wished to close the account of Gerard I's life with a list of benefactions, as was traditional.⁵⁹ For obvious reasons, van Mingroot puts the break between the sixth and seventh sentences, after *laetatur*: '*Nec solum ibi, sed etiam propius, in villa videlicet Nigella fodiens, aliud genus bonorum lapidum se reperisse laetatur. Unde Deo gratias reddens, totum se studio pii laboris accinxit; ac ne amplius demorer, operante divina misericordia, opus immensum septennio, anno videlicet*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.324.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.325.

⁵⁸ Georges Duby, 'Gérard de Cambrai, la paix', 139.

⁵⁹ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.305-6.

*dominicae incarnationis 1030 reddidit cosummatum.*⁶⁰ However, as can be seen, there is no natural break in the text, and while the manuscript tradition of this chapter is confused, the editorial problems only begin after the key entry of the date 1030.⁶¹ At this point it becomes significant that van Mingroot's study is entirely based on content. An examination of the autograph of the first two books will both reveal a second redaction of these earlier pieces not taken into account by either Bethmann or van Mingroot and open up alternative explanations for the construction of the third.

MS Transmission

The first two books of the *Gesta* still exist in an eleventh-century manuscript, the *Codex S. Gisleni*, which is the manuscript from which all the others derive:⁶² in fact the *MGH* editor Bethmann was almost certainly right in considering it the autograph.⁶³ The manuscript once contained Book III up to the middle of c.49, and still did so in 1615 when Colveneere prepared the first edition.⁶⁴ While the rest of Book III, to c.60, had already become detached by the fourteenth century, Colveneere was able to consult the now-lost twelfth-century *Codex S. Mariae Atrebatensis* into which they had been copied.⁶⁵ The clear chronological break that exists between III, 50 (dealing with 1025) and III, 51-60 (1036-7, c.60 is an undated (1043?) letter to Henry III) already existed in

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.306, n.156.

⁶¹ Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, pp.398-99, 483 nn:a-c, 484 n:a. The fact that Colveneere, who saw the autograph of this chapter, did not record any changes in hand makes no difference: he does not record other changes either.

⁶² van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.292, n.67, 297, 299; *ibid.*, p.309.

⁶³ Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, pp.398-99; see below.

⁶⁴ Colveneere, *Chronicon Cameracense*. Colveneere's work is commented upon favourably by both Bethmann and van Mingroot: Bethmann, *ibid.*, p.309, van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', p.300. I have been able to confirm the accuracy of Colveneere's readings in my own examination of the *Codex sancti Gisleni*.

⁶⁵ Bethmann, *ibid.*, p.309; van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.300.

this latter codex. Bethmann, and van Mingroot follows him in this, believed that the erasure of the last lines of III, 60 was done by the scribe of the subsequent *GL* removing a reference to the end of the *Gesta*. Thus the lost section would be short.⁶⁶ However van Mingroot points out that the *GL* assume that Gerard's death-date is known and the 1133 *Chronicon S. Andreae*, which relies on the *Gesta* for its information about Gerard I, records details of his burial.⁶⁷ It is therefore probable that the Book III was completed up to Gerard's death.⁶⁸

*Codex Sancti Gisleni*⁶⁹

Why this is the Autograph:

The *Codex Sancti Gisleni* has often been taken to be the autograph manuscript. An unknown nineteenth-century librarian of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek suspected as much, as did Bethmann and most recently van Mingroot.⁷⁰ The reasoning for this has generally been the fact that this is the *Urtext* from which every other manuscript springs, combined with the fact that the script is datable to the eleventh century. Van Mingroot has gone so far as to imply that the marginalia in the codex are from Gerard I himself.⁷¹ I would like here to add a number of arguments to the case for considering this codex the autograph. Firstly, even ignoring the corrections undertaken by Gerard(?), the manuscript is something of a mess. The original scribe has at a number of points erased and rewritten sections, at one point an entire page.⁷² This would militate against

⁶⁶ Den Haag KB 75 F 15. Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, p.396, n.28; van Mingroot, *ibid.*, p.288.

⁶⁷ *Chronicon S. Andreae* II:12, p.533.

⁶⁸ Van Mingroot, *ibid.*, pp.288-9.

⁶⁹ I would like to thank Mareike Temmen of the Universität Münster for generously sharing her codicological expertise.

⁷⁰ MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, flyleaf; Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, p.398-99.

⁷¹ van Mingroot, *D.H.G.E.*, col.744.

⁷² MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, f.73^v.

considering the manuscript a copy of a complete work. At most it is probably a second fair(ish) copy of an earlier working draft. Secondly, two parchment knots tied into the outer edge of folia 38 and 66 allow the rapid consultation of *diplomata* granting Cambrai cathedral rights over the abbey of St-Géry (I:73 (72)) and confirming the bishopric's immunity respectively (I:108). While it is of course impossible to date the knots, their function does strongly imply that the manuscript originates from Cambrai cathedral, where the author of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* himself was a canon. Thirdly, a space has been left on folio 68^v where a copy of a papal bull was supposed to be, but never was, included. This would indicate that the manuscript was a work in progress. Such a view is supported by the failure of the rubricator to fit the chapter titles into the spaces left for him by the scribe.⁷³ While each of these points constitutes only circumstantial evidence, and each is open to an alternative interpretation, I would still contend that taken together the simplest explanation is that the *Codex Sancti Gislei* is indeed the autograph of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.

Codicology

The surviving part of the *Codex Sancti Gislei* is now to be found in The Hague, as Koninklijke Bibliotheek 75 F 15. The binding is leather etched on both the front and the back covers with a geometrical design of a grid within which are various ellipses. The points at which lines meet are etched as stars. The codex is capable of being tied shut in two places, with four strings attached to the two covers. Its depth, 36mm, indicates that the binding was intended to contain only the current folia. By the time of the current volume's binding the third book was therefore either lost or bound

⁷³ e.g., *ibid.*, ff.1^v, 5^v.

separately. Given that the third book seems to have been begun on a new quire from the second, separating the third book to create a kind of independent *Vita Gerardi primi* would have been an easy, perhaps even obvious, thing to do.⁷⁴ There is evidence of trimming visible in folia 59, 65 and 82, but it is impossible to tell definitely whether the size of the binding, 279mm x 192mm, was made to fit the contemporary size of the folia, or if this trimming was done to fit the binding. It is therefore possible that the codex had already been rebound at least once, and therefore perhaps lost its third book before it reached its current state.

A hypothesis as to when the codex reached its current state and to when the third book was removed can nevertheless be advanced on the basis of the watermark in the paper flyleaf protecting the parchment from the front cover.⁷⁵ Although difficult to make out, it seems to depict the coat of arms of the Netherlands as in the second half of the seventeenth century: a lion rampant within a double circle decorated at top with stylised foliage.⁷⁶ The relative sophistication of the watermark relates it to examples from the last third or quarter of the century, perhaps the 1680s or 1690s.⁷⁷ The Koninklijke Bibliotheek card catalogue dates the binding to the early eighteenth

⁷⁴ The second book ends half way down folio 87^r, leaving 1 1/2 blank folios. It may thus be that the third book was always meant to be detachable. For the instability of manuscript technology, see below, pp.137-38.

⁷⁵ I have been unable to identify the watermark on the back flyleaf. It consists of the letters HAW or WAH at the bottom centre, with seven vertical lines.

⁷⁶ Edward Heawood (ed.) *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae I, Hilversum, 1950), nos 3136, -37, -38 (dated 1656, -56, -68 respectively) and nos 3139-45 (dated variously 1676, 'shortly after 1685', c.1689 and 1699); W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935), nos. 109-118, all from the Seven Provinces dated variously between 1654 and 1707; J.S.G. Simmons (ed.) *Tromonin's Watermark Album. A Facsimile of the Moscow 1844 Edition* (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae XI, Hilversum, 1965), nos. 926 & 930, both dated to 1681 (pp.30-31).

⁷⁷ Compare the less sophisticated watermarks from Celle, 1648-54, and Soest 1650 in Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Raubtiere. Findbuch XV* (Stuttgart 1987), nos. 1766-1770 (Celle), no.1792 (Soest).

century. Since the eighteenth-century watermarks tend to depict the Dutch lion within a shield and not a circle or double circle, we might well conjecture a binding in the last couple of decades of the seventeenth century or even the very early years of the eighteenth.⁷⁸

We know that when Colveneere published his first edition in 1615, the *Codex S. Gisleni* contained most of the third book as well, although it already lacked a quire.⁷⁹ The entry ‘*Baldericus sive Chron. Cameracense et Atrebatense*’ under ‘*Codices MSS Bibliothecae Monasterii S. Gisleni in Cella ordinis S. Benedicti in Hannonia*’ in Sander’s *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta* of 1641 seems to indicate a single codex, and most likely means that at this point it was still in the state in which Colveneere had found it.⁸⁰ Given the relatively short time-span between this reference and the date of the watermark, it is likely, although as mentioned before, impossible to prove, that the trimming of the folia and the current binding were made on the occasion of the removal of the third book. St-Ghislain was seriously affected by the troubles of the seventeenth century, yet the precise reason why the books were separated, and what might have happened to the latter section cannot be identified.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Watermarks are dated according to the publication date of the books in which they occur. The delay between the creation of the paper with the watermark and the publication of the books makes any dating of a watermark on the basis of design alone necessarily vague. Note that the watermark in question here turns up as late as 1777: Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, no.119, found in a copy of G. Foster’s *The Voyages of Captain Cook*, London.

⁷⁹ Colveneere, *Chronicon Cameracense*, pp.7r-f.

⁸⁰ Antonius Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta, sive, elenchus universalis codicum mss. in celebrioribus Belgii Coenobiis, Ecclesiis, Urbium, ac Privatorum Hominum Bibliothecis adhuc latentium* (Insulis, 1641, repr. Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, numéro spécial 7, Brussels, 1972), p.246. It of course remains possible that the third book had already been separated and sold or lost by 1641, and that the first two were then given their new, present binding only later.

⁸¹ D. van Overstraeten, ‘Ghislenghien’, *D.H.G.E.*, XX col.1184.

Notations

There are a number of layers of notations made after the eleventh century visible on the manuscript, which together give an impression of how variable the text's reception could be.

The library mark 'V88 Th.303' appears in the inside front cover. '303' appears again in on a piece of paper glued into the inside back cover, and the full signature appears in the original card catalogue entry, which refers to Bethmann's MGH edition. It must therefore have been the codex's late nineteenth-century signature. Other modern librarians' marks on the inside covers have been impossible to identify and promise no new information.⁸²

The notes on the verso of the front flyleaf are more interesting, and are in several layers:

1. In the centre of the page, a subsequently erased but still just legible modern hand wrote in pencil: 'Ce[?] Gerard fut nommé à l'évêché de Cambrai...1014 et[?] mourut apres[?] 1040[?].'
2. At the bottom left, another hand, possibly the same as wrote the pencil pagination,⁸³ has written in pencil, 'fol. 150'.
3. The same hand [?] wrote '7i' in the top left corner, possibly a reference to the library signature, B71, given by the manuscript's last private collector, Joseph Désirée Lupus.

⁸² Specifically, on the inside back cover: bottom right, in pencil within oval are written letters WLO vertically, and under that, still within oval, 'Jun '28'; in very bottom right corner, bright red stamp-like sticker with the number 910.

⁸³ See below, p.106.

4. There are more erased pencil notes above 'fol.150', beginning 'Per...', with the date '1032'[?]. The rest is illegible. Whether this was the same hand that wrote the comments in 1. above is impossible to tell.
5. Another hand wrote in ink near the top of the page: 'opus De antiquitate plurimorum, in Belgio, urbium et locorum, necnon De historia ipsis Relativa', and below this 'XI.^{me} siècle' But for the date, this has been crossed out in black ink. It is moreover possible that the I in the date is the eraser's correction, since it seems to be in the same darker ink.
6. Above this, right at top of page, and in what seems to be the same ink as the deletion marks, another hand wrote: 'Chronicon Eccles: Camerac: et Atrebat ante divisionem'
7. Below the century entry, the same hand wrote: 'Scriptum, rogante et sedente Gerardo, episcopo Camere: [?] / A^o 1014-1040 / ab eiusd. sacellario / Balderico* / postea Episcopo Novensi et Tornacensi. videtur extissise MS hoc in Coenobio S^{ti} Gisleni in Hannonia atque inde provenisse. typis evulgatum est Douai, A^o 1615. cura [?] G. Colvenerii . V. Sanderi Bibl. Belgicam Manuscriptorum.' The section between the /'s may have been added afterwards by same author.
8. The same hand again (?) wrote the asterisk next to 'Balderic', and entered below: *Baldericus ille obiit A^o 1112./
9. Yet another modern hand added below this, in French: 'Ce MS ne contient que les 2. livres du *Chronicon*; ce qui ferait croire que c'est le MS original, ou [illegible] un MS copié avant la confection du 3eme livre qui ne fut fait que sous le successeur du Gérard-ci-dessus. La main est bien de l'onzième siècle, et les additions partielles qu'ont été faites apres-coup et inserées à leur place telles

qu'elles se retrouvent dans les copiés subsequents dans la corps même de l'ouvrage, semblent confirmer cette conjecture.'

Some conclusions about the later reception of the text can be drawn from these librarians' notes. Sot's work on the *gesta* genre, and on Flodoard emphasises historiography's role in creating an institutional identity. Yet entry 5 would seem to indicate that the text was not always taken to be a 'chronicle' in the sense of a single narrative of the area or of the dioceses, but was seen as a collection of histories of various places. Nor is it the case that this librarian had simply read the prologue and repeated its declaration of intent to depict the history of the 'our cities' Cambrai and Arras. The references to 'Belgium' and '*urbes et loci*' (my emphasis) exclude this possibility. A number of other indications also point to the text being used more as a source of individual community histories than as a history of the diocese. The twelfth-century Hautmont MS, now Douai B.M. 851, includes an excerpted copy of Book II of the *Gesta*, and the late eleventh-century Cambrai B.M. 864 includes extracts from Book II as well as Book I. While this is of course in itself no evidence of the author or commissioner's intended use of the *Gesta*, we shall see later that there is every reason to believe the author knew his text might be used in this way. At the very least it should warn us against immediately assuming the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* is only to be understood as a chronicle or *gesta*.

By the time of this title's deletion, Colveneere's publication meant that the text was seen unambiguously as a *chronicon* by the author of entries 6 and 7. At the time of these notes, the codex was no longer in St.-Ghislain. Indeed these may be the notes of the first Koninklijke Bibliotheek librarian.

Entry 9 would most likely have been written after Bethmann's edition had cleared the relation of the various *Gesta* MSS. Nonetheless it differs from Bethmann in leaving open the possibility that it may be an early copy, and that the third book may have been written separately and later.

The final issue that these entries raise regards entry 2 (and possibly 3). If 3 is a reference to Lupus's catalogue number, and is the same hand as entry 2, this would imply that it was Lupus who rebound the book and separated Books I and II from Book III. In this case, he would simply have reused an old seventeenth-century binding for the first two books. Yet as far as we know Lupus sold his entire MS collection to King William I, and the third book of the *Gesta* is not among them.⁸⁴ Additionally, given that the first two books only run to 88 folia, 62 extra folia seems much too many into which to fit the relatively short third book. Indeed, 150 folia does not even correspond to a natural quire number, which would be 144 or 152 folia. This entry therefore remains a mystery to me.

⁸⁴ Anne Korteweg, 'J. D. Lupus', in Marieke van Delft et al (eds), *Collectors and Collections. Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, Lysbeth Croiset van Uchelen-Brouwer and Peter Thomson (tr.) (Zwolle, 1998), p.48.

Unfortunately Anselm Berthod (1733-88), monk, diplomatist and librarian of Besançon public library, who saw the codex in St-Ghislain in 1774, does not specify whether the third book was still included: cf. A. Berthod, 'Relation d'un voyage littéraire dans les Pays-Bas français et autrichiens, lue à la séance de l'académie de Besançon, le 21 décembre 1776', *Mémoires et documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la Franche-Comté* 3 (1844), p.363. The codex's history between 1774 and Lupus's death in 1823 is mysterious. After the dissolution of ecclesiastical estates in 1795, the library of St-Ghislain was transferred in September 1796 to the new departmental library at Épinlieu in Hainault. When the latter moved to Mons ten years later, many 'ouvrages de rebut' were sold and it may have been at this point that this rather unimpressive codex entered private hands: see C. Delacourt, *Notice historique sur la Bibliothèque de Mons* (Ghent, 1840), pp.31-33, 38-42, 92-93.

Foliation, Pagination and Organisation:

The codex contains 88 parchment folia, two paper flyleaves, and 7 parchment inserts. There are no missing folia.

The parchment folia are organised in eleven gatherings of four bifolia each (11IV). The second book follows directly on from the first on folio 74^v. It ends on the other hand in the middle of 88^r, and the rest of the eleventh quire was left blank and later filled with an extract from a pseudo-decretal of Pope Gregory the Great.⁸⁵

The parchment is paginated in the middle of the top margin of each verso in ink with arabic numerals of perhaps the fifteenth century. In some places the numbering seems to have been written off to the side to avoid writing over marginalia which were then erased later still.⁸⁶ The older pagination skips the number 30, and then uses 33 twice. These mistakes may explain the modern arabic repagination at the top right of each recto. This hand paginates the fourth insert as a second folio 15, but this does not affect the rest of the page numbering. The same modern hand includes chapter numbers for several chapters. More interestingly, the first five chapters of Book I have the remnants of what seem to be original rubricated Roman chapter numerals.

The number of lines pricked and scored vary from the beginning to end of the manuscript. In the first four quires, the text is written 28 lines to the page, although the text extends to an extra ruled line on 8^v; in quires 6 to 9 and quire 11 there are only 27 lines to the page. The outer and inmost bifolia of the fifth quire carry 27 lines, the middle two bifolia on the other hand 28. The tenth quire features predominantly 27 lines, as would be expected, yet folio 75^v is an anomaly: here the scribe began to ignore the ruled lines towards the end of the page, resulting in a 29-line text. The later corrector in contrast obeys the ruled lines, even where his additions exceed the space available –

⁸⁵ 'Epscopus debet missam celebrare...'

⁸⁶ Den Haag KB 75 F 15, ff.71, 80, 81, 85.

in these cases he continues onto an insert or into the margins. The lack of quire marks to indicate the organisation of text is explicable in the context of there having been only one scribe.

The text is always written in one column, except for parts of the description of Wibold's dice game teaching the virtues, on ff.48r-49r. This may be a sign that it was set out like this in the source manuscript.⁸⁷ The verses on folios 25^{r-v} and 52^v-53^r are not indented, but each verse is written on its own line.

The Second Redaction:

There are at least two and possibly three eleventh-century hands at work in the manuscript, each using the same, or similar script. We can identify the hand of the main, original text (α) with the first author (A) working on commission from Gerard I in 1024/25. All the eleventh-century additions bar perhaps one are, *pace* Bethmann, in a different eleventh-century hand (γ), responsible for both the other inserts and for many marginal notes.⁸⁸ They were clearly all done at roughly the same time. The nature of the hand in the first insert (β) is more problematic – it seems to be somewhere between the other two, and thus could be either one of them or a third scribe entirely. It is impossible to say for sure. In any case, the fact that there has been at least one new redaction means that a number of sections of the work may not be by the original author.⁸⁹

The key question is what relation, if any, does the second redaction which these additions represent have to that dated to 1051x1055 which van Mingroot identified in

⁸⁷ Here Bethmann imitates the manuscript layout in his edition, *MGH SS VII*, pp.434-37.

⁸⁸ Bethmann, *ibid.*, p.393; the later hand is certainly pre-1094, since one of the marginal notes refers to the bishoprics of Arras and Cambrai being united: 'Nota quod olim Cameracensis et Atrebatensis duae fuerant quae modo uniuntur.' Den Haag KB MS 75 F 15, f.4^r.

⁸⁹ See below, pp.118-19. It is presumably this hand that van Mingroot identifies with Gerard I himself, *D.H.G.E.*, col.744.

the third book. It ought to be noted that Colveneere, who is our only witness to the autograph of Book III, did not record the changes of hand we can observe in the surviving first two books. Nor are the additions betrayed by the same sort of incoherence that allowed van Mingroot to postulate interpolations in Book III,

Given the authorial problems of these additions to the main text, it may be fruitful to analyse them all as a group to see if they set any peculiar accents.

The first insert is bound between ff.3^v and 4^r, and contains the last section of I:4, immediately following the story of Ragnachar's betrayal to and execution by Clovis from Gregory of Tours's *Ten Books of History*:

'Legimus autem in gestis Remorum pontificum, quod rege praefato Clodoveo, ut posterius liquet, a sancto Remigio ac sancto Vedasto baptizato cum sororibus simul et cum magno Francorum exercitu, pars quidem magna Francorum, adhuc incredula necdum conversa, cum isto Ragnachario principe in locis trans Somnam fluvium, id est in urbe Cameraco, in infidelitate aliquandiu morabatur, donec superna gratia disponente, sed Clodoveo triumphante, idem Regnacharius, flagitiorum sectator ac turpitudinum, vinctus a Francis et a suis, ut modo diximus, traditus est et interemptus, omnisque Francorum populus ad Christi fidem per beatum Remigium convertitur et baptizatur, sicut inibi legimus. Sed potius per beatum Vedastum credimus; numquam enim sanctum Remigium in nostris partibus verbum Dei populo predicasse audivimus, sed ab illo et a rege noviter baptizato huic nostrae urbi ad convertendam gentem directum beatum Vedastum cognovimus; quare illum hujus negotii auctorem credimus.'⁹⁰

The reference to the later conversion of Clovis is to I:7. This is the only insert whose palaeography resembles that of the original author. What is particularly noteworthy here is of course the critical use of Flodoard, and the emphasis on the importance of the local Arras saint Vedast over the provincial patron Remigius. This, and the next addition, also allow us to elaborate Thomas Bauer's observation that the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* authors do not make the possible appeal to an apostolic foundation of

⁹⁰ *GeC*, I:4, p.404. See *n.b.*

Cambrai via Remigius.⁹¹ It is not just that the author maintains the authority of Vedast vis-à-vis Remigius, and thus Cambrai/Arras vis-à-vis Rheims, but that he does so by appealing to the royal authority of Clovis.

Another hand, *γ*, is responsible for several items of marginalia. In the outer margin of 4^r, where the original author cites Pope Dionysius and Hincmar of Rheims to the effect that Cambrai and Arras were once two dioceses (I:5), he writes: ‘Nota quod olim Cameracensis et Atrebatensis duae fuerant quae modo uniuntur.’

In the margin of folio 5^r, next to where the original author later in the same chapter has cited Jerome’s description of the barbarian invasions of Gaul (I:5), this hand has added: ‘Nota quod Hieronimus cum aliis urbibus destructionem quoque Atrebatensis plangit.’

On 7^r, the name in I:7 of where Vedast was supposed to have evangelized has been erased and replaced in the later hand by a reference to Arras and Cambrai. Given that the correction is squashed into the remaining space, the original reading is likely to have mentioned only Arras. Later in the same chapter, on folio 7^v, where the original author apparently referred to Dionysius describing only the boundaries of Arras,⁹² the

⁹¹ Thomas Bauer, *Lothringen als historischer Raum: Raumbildung und Raumbewußtsein im Mittelalter* (Rheinisches Archiv 136, Cologne, 1997), pp.395-96. Bauer sees this as ‘einzigartig’ and reads it as the *Gesta* author trying to establish a Cambrai tradition independent of West Frankish traditions, especially that of Rheims. Reinhold Kaiser, ‘Die *Gesta episcoporum* als Genus der Geschichtsschreibung’, in Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (eds), *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 32, Vienna and Munich, 1994), pp.477-78, in contrast, interprets this phenomenon in terms of Flodoard’s and the Cambrai author’s inclusion of pre-Christian history of their respective cities, arguing that the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* are ‘auf dem Wege, eine Stadt- und Bistumsgeschichte zu werden wie die *Gesta Treverorum*’ (p.477). In other words, the audience may be, like that of the late eleventh-century *Gesta Treverorum*, the lay *familia* of the cathedral chapter. But see below, pp.138-39. While the two arguments are complementary, Kaiser’s is fundamentally teleological, relying on a later developmental narrative of the genre to explain earlier features.

⁹² Bethmann reconstructed: ‘hanc quoque urbem ascriptam’, *MGH SS VII*, p.406, n.d.

later hand has corrected to, 'has quoque urbes, Cameracum atque Atrebatum, ascriptas et cum suis parochiis eque distinctas'. In the margin at the same place he has written: 'Nota quod Dyonisius papa inter caeteras sedes pontificales Cameracum et Atrebatum descripserit.'

The second insert is sewn into the bottom of 7^r, and adds a section to I:7, immediately after Clovis's conversion, Vedast's ordination as bishop and his being sent to the cities of Cambrai and Arras (Cameraco et Atrebato...urbibus):

'Liquet ergo, quod rex iste, quanto impensius paternas sedes amaverat, tanto probatoris vitae pastorem eo loci delegaverat. Ibi enim preter ceteras sedes, ut paulo superius dictum est, specialius versabatur; ideoque majori gratia ductus, pastoralis regimine parochiam ditare conabatur; quippe nullum meliorem quam beatum Vedastum et ad ferocem populum edomandum et ad gratiam fidei excitandam arbitratus, per quem ipse fidem catholicam fuerat adeptus. Notandum vero, quod ut supra tetigimus, hae duae parochiae antea gemina episcopali administratione gaudebant; nunc autem, quia ab hoc sancto pontifice vastatae repertae sunt, uno regimine colliguntur.'⁹³

The reference to the previous mention of the unification of Cambrai and Arras is to the marginal note on folio 4^r, done in the same hand.⁹⁴ The author of this section continues the previous insert's association with Clovis, and links that authority in turn with the re-establishment of the two bishoprics as one.

The third insert is bound between 8^v and 9^r, containing I:10 on the recto side, and I:11 on the verso:

'*De homine per advocatiam sancti Vedasti in campum sustentato. Pauca vero, quae nostris diebus meritis hujus beati confessoris a videntibus facta accepimus, nequaquam pretereunda estimavimus. In Derniensi namque territorio quendam ex familia sancti Vedasti hominem mali rapinatores, alienae substantiolae inhiantes, pravis insimulationibus adorti sunt, et ob hoc suum advocatum in jus quaerentes, ipsum quidem hominem ad singulare certamen, quod rustice dicimus campum,*

⁹³ *GeC*, I:7, p.406. See nn.b-c.

⁹⁴ See above, p.106.

provocarunt. Qui advocatum suum adfuturum pollicitus intra hujus legis diffiniendae terminum, sumpta pera cum baculo, ad cenobium viri Dei pergere festinavit, causamque proclamans, abbatis advocatiam imploravit. Abbas autem pro difficultate longi itineris detrectavit ferre suffragium, immo divinum monuit expectare auxilium. Omnino itaque desolatus ad sua revertitur, solaque in Domini fides clementia, susceptam legem refellere nequaquam estimavit. Ergo prescripta die iudicio se repraesentans, advocatiam Dei et sancti Vedasti sibi profuturam assumpsit, nullumque aliud scutum quam peram sibi opponendam fiducialiter ad dirimendam pugnam exclamavit. Factumque est divina operante clementia, quod ubi obluctator alter diligenter armatus, congressu habito illius inermis peram ingenti ictu percusserit, tanta et tam densa nebula inter eos de ipsa pera statim exoritur, ut neuter alterum videre potuisset.

De homine quoque per sanctum Vedastum liberato. In una quoque ecclesia, quae in episcopio Leodecensi sita, in honore sancti Vedasti colitur, raptor quidam pessimus compositis fraudulenter calumniis hominem cepit, nexisque post tergum manibus et fune ascillis supposito, torquendum durius abducebat. Quem mox caelitus emancipatum respiciens, equo desiliit, illumque per se fore solutum quoquo modo existimans, male verberatum iterum artius vinculavit. Equoque ascenso, repente quoque laxatum intuitus, cum furore etiam per comam arripuit, verberibusque affectum, tertio per genitalia obligavit. Nec longum vero, dissolutum respexit, sicque tandem devictus, divinae potentiae caedendum estimavit. Hoc autem meritis sancti Vedasti a Deo concessum nemo qui dubitet.⁹⁵

Again we see the authority of St Vedast buttressed by γ . A naïve interpretation would argue that this was connected to an emphasis on the importance of St-Vaast, Arras. Yet in the first miracle, the abbot of St-Vaast is depicted as remarkably passive, leaving one of his *familia* ‘utterly abandoned’, and the credit for the miracle is attributed entirely to God, the saint and the faith of the man in question. After all, the man is said to have travelled the distance to Arras, presumably walking, if the reference to the staff is not merely meant figuratively, so the abbot’s excuse is at least of doubtful validity. Indeed in his taking up of a *pera* and *baculum*, there is an echo of David’s battle against Goliath in I Samuel 17:40, ‘et [David] tulit *baculum* suum quem semper habebat in manibus et elegit sibi quinque limpidissimos lapides de torrente et misit eos in *peram*

⁹⁵ *GeC*, I:10-11, p.407. *Derniensis* has not been securely identified. See Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, p.407, n.a.

pastoralem quam habebat secum et fundam manu tulit et processit adversum Philistheum [emphases mine]'. The parallel with the combat is of course obvious, but criticism of the abbot may also be intended.

The second miracle has no connection with St Vedast's main cult site at all, and indeed takes place in an entirely different diocese. If we see this in connection with the previous concentration on Vedast's role as unifier of the two bishoprics, we may suspect the corrector is trying to co-opt the authority of Vedast to play down the importance of Cambrai cathedral's main ecclesiastical rival within the diocese, the abbey of St-Vaast, Arras.

On folio 8^v, in I:12, a reference to Dionysius's description of the diocesan boundaries has been expanded with, 'ut superius expresse ostensum est'.

At the end of I:22, on folio 12^v, γ has completed the description of Bishop Vinditian having been buried in the *villa* of Sercin, which is within the borders of 'Cameracensis episcopii et Morinensis'.

The fourth parchment insert, between 15^v and 16^r, contains a charter of St Humbert granting lands to Maroilles.⁹⁶ Its authenticity has been secured by Jean-Marie Duvosquel.⁹⁷ Interestingly, the scribe claims to have found the charter in the archive of the church of St-Humbert, and makes a point that the donation was made in the presence and with the approval of Bishop Vinditian.⁹⁸ This is not only consistent with the general concern of the *Gesta*, including its main author, to buttress episcopal

⁹⁶ Numbered as I:(27) in the MGH edition. See p.412, n.a*.

⁹⁷ Jean-Marie Duvosquel, 'La charte de donation de saint Humbert pour l'abbaye de Maroilles en Hainault (18 mars 674)', *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 136 (1970), pp.143-77.

⁹⁸ 'Veterem vero kartulam in archivo aecclisiae sancti Huntberti repperimus, quam sub praesentia et favore hujus sancti pontificis ipse vir sanctus tunc temporis abbas, de villa Maceriis scripsit, ita se habentem:...', *GeC*, I:(27), p.412.

authority, but also indicates that γ at least seems to have travelled and collected, at least in passing, information to add to the *Gesta* account.⁹⁹

In chapter I:39 (37), γ adds that the silver tables that Bishop Hildward ordered to be made during Charlemagne's reign survived until the time of Louis the Pious.¹⁰⁰

The fifth insert is bound between 33' and 34', and adds information to I:65, which had just described Dodilo's participation in the consecration of Archbishop Herivaes of Rheims:

'Hic autem exstructis muris, menia urbis in tantum ampliavit, ut monasterium sancti Autberti, quod extra erat, infra murorum ambitum cohiberet. Monasterium etiam Dei genitricis Mariae aedificatum Kalendis Augusti sollemniter consecravit, tabulamque altaris argenteam, quam nostris diebus vidimus, sciphumque argenteum, quem diebus festis subdiaconi in manibus ferunt, calicem quoque, cum aliis quoque ornamentis aecclesiae fecit. Monasterium etiam Laubiense adhibito secum Stephano Leodecensi episcopo consecravit. Qui inter haec morte preventus, diem clausit, in ipsoque sanctae Mariae monasterio ad septemtrionalem plagam sepultus est.'¹⁰¹

If, as I suspect, this is a later insertion, it is especially interesting, since it means the original scribe neglected to describe Dodilo's building feats and burial, as was usual in the *Gesta*, and ultimately *Liber pontificalis* tradition. Both in content and in codicological context, the section betrays a certain amount of confusion on the part of its author. Regarding the content, the subject fits so poorly into the rest of the chapter (entitled 'He [i.e. Dodilo] participated in the consecration of Archbishop Heriveus of Rheims'¹⁰²), that Colveneere made it into a separate chapter.¹⁰³ Bethmann's observation

⁹⁹ See below, p.133-34, for Folcuin of Lobbes gathering information for his *Gesta* while on a visit to Rheims.

¹⁰⁰ MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, f. 18': 'Hic autem usque ad tempus Luduvici Pii superfuit'.

¹⁰¹ *GeC*, I:65, p.424. See pp.423-24, n.e.

¹⁰² 'Consecrationi Herivei Remorum archiepiscopi interfuit', *ibid.*, p.424.

¹⁰³ Colveneere, *Chronicon Cameracense*, pp.446-47.

that the insert does not, as the third does, make any mention of beginning a new chapter is valid, yet does not make the addition any less of an after-thought.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, and uniquely in the codex, this addition was placed by its writer in the wrong place. All the inserts have unique symbols written on the insert and then again in the manuscript proper next to where the text is supposed to be added to the narrative. In this case the relevant symbol was placed at the end of I:64. Then, noticing that the text continued to discuss Dodilo in the next chapter after he was supposedly dead and buried, the same scribe drew a line showing that it was supposed to be added to I:65.¹⁰⁵ Thus it seems that here the corrector had, in the most literal sense of the phrase, lost the plot.

The sixth insert is sewn into the inside margin of 62', and follows the account of Otto II's defeat at the hands of the Saracens in 982. This defeat the original author blames on Otto's youthful impetuosity, and in his original version simply goes on to say that Otto then began to take counsel, and was waiting to collect more forces when he was prevented from doing so by death.¹⁰⁶ The corrector, γ , has on the other hand deleted the account of Otto's new preparations and replaced it with the adventure story, familiar from Thietmar and Alpert of Metz, of Otto's flight by sea and deception of the

¹⁰⁴ Bethmann, p.424.

¹⁰⁵ MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, f.33'.

¹⁰⁶ The original chapter ran: '*Imperator contra Sarracenos bellum iniens vincitur, nec multo post obiit. Decursis autem temporum spaciis, Otto imperator et rex Lotharius inter se federati pacantur, et utrumque regnum facta tranquillitate quievit. Interea Otto Romam profectus Sarracenos per terras Apuliae deservire audierat; et sicuti juvenis audax, manu validus, animo exaestuat, moras precipitat. Qui nec mora, non multis quos presentes habebat fultus, facto itinere illuc pertransiit; nec passus se expectare suos per intervalla itinerum sequuturos, mox contra hostem prelium inconsulte commisit. Armabat enim consuetudo vincendi et ignorantia cedendi. Siquidem congressu habito, licet numero longe inferior, multam cladem hostium edidit, sed tamen gloriam victoriae superatus amisit. Nam sine consilio fortitudo in temeritate convertitur. Unde cum probro abscedens, pudore succensus, meliori consilio militarem copiam sibi ad reparandum prelium quaerere estimavit. Verumtamen interim morte preventus, paulo post intervallo occubuit, Romae quidem in porticu sancti Petri sepultus.*' *GeC*, I:104, p.444, and *n.a.*

sailors.¹⁰⁷ What seem to have happened here is that the original author's by-the-numbers morality tale was replaced with something more exciting when it became available.

Chapter I:116 is extended by γ . The original chapter, after describing how Baldwin IV was brought round to help eject Abbot Fulrad from St-Vaast, ended with the successful transferral of the abbey to Richard of St-Vanne. The second version returns to Fulrad to describe how he stole money from the abbey and went to Rheims to bribe Archbishop Arnulf into helping him. But Arnulf, who is described as 'degenerate in spirit' takes the money but does nothing to help Fulrad who ends his days in disgrace, trafficking with Jews.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately, this account does nothing to help us date the

¹⁰⁷ The sentence 'Unde...estimavit' is deleted, and a symbol refers to the insert, reading: 'Qui transfugio sibi consulere aestimans, quia terra evadere non posset, velociter se misit in mari, visamque naviculam inimicorum, quam preter ullam suspicionem forte non procul a litore conspexerat, alacri sed et difficillimo natatu ascendit. Hunc enim jam paene lapsabundum miserati remiges, admoto navigio susceperunt, longeque dissimilem et ignotum arbitantes, causas infortunii rogaverunt. Ille vero tandem eorum barbara colloquutione advertens se hostibus incaute oblatum, mox prae formidine fallere doctus, utpote inter hostes vitae naufragus, quoquo modo potuit evasionis opem quaesivit. Finxit enim se quendam fore hominem ex ipsa Bar maritima urbe multis opibus affluentem, verum errore viae incidisse naufragium. Illos tamen ditatum iri pro compendio, si illaesum perducerent. Quo remiges empti cum ad votum caesaris predictae civitati admovissent naviculam, statim laetus imperator Teoderico Mettensium episcopo caeterisque suis principibus, qui in ipsius urbis tuitione recepti, regis periculum condolentes, ipsum quidem captum putabant, totius rei seriem per internuntios tacite inculcavit, et ut quasi ad remunerandos nautas sibi praemia afferrent callide ammonuit. Qui mox, inopina mandata gaudenter amplexi, scrinia ceteramque suppellectilem regiam ad navim imperatori tulerunt, unaque etiam velocissimum caballum adduxerunt; nautis vero ad convecta munera intendentibus, imperator extra naviculam vivaciter exilit, equoque ascenso, ita delusis hostibus, preter spem, credo, adjuvante Domino illesus evasit.' *Ibid.*, I:104(103), p.444. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, III:21, pp.124-27 and Alpert of Metz, *De Episcopis Mettensibus Libellus*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS IV* (Hanover, 1841), pp.698-99.

¹⁰⁸ 'Fulradus vero, rapta secum pecunia quam de rebus sancti Vedasti furto subtraxerat, aecclesiam Remensium expetit, deploratisque suarum erumnarum necessitudinibus, Arnulfum archipraesulem, qui tunc temporis aecclesiae preerat, suo consilio oblati muneribus flectere estimavit. Illum namque et ministros ejus oppignoravit precio, ut sibi, quasi per prejudicium deposito, forte recursus ad privatam gratiam ipsius auctoritate pateret. Erat enim ipse archiepiscopus degener animi; et, quamvis supradictae institutionis consultibus prejudicare nullo modo valeret, tamen donorum avidus recipiebat oblata, suae quidem avariciae magis quam illius consulens causae. In cujus ferendo suffragio dum aliquanto temporis

second redaction, since nothing is known of Fulrad outside of the *Gesta* and Arnulf, who is referred to here in the past tense, died in 1021.

The seventh and final parchment insert, bound between 79^r and 80^r, concerns II:11, on the *villa* of Baralle. The chapter was originally considerably shorter, running to only seven lines. After the initial phrase, ‘And in a village which has been given the name Baralle by its inhabitants...’,¹⁰⁹ γ has erased the final six lines, written over the erasure and continued onto the insert. There is of course no way of telling what was originally written – all the other manuscripts were copied from this one after the corrections and extensions had been done. The new text concerns a community of canons that had been founded by Clovis, ‘as they say’, and consecrated by Vedast to St George. During Dodilo’s episcopate the canons took the arm of St George into ‘our [the author’s] church’ for safekeeping from the Northmen. After a while they wanted to return, but Dodilo told them it still was not safe. They waited a few days and asked again, claiming the Normans had gone, but Dodilo warned them again, and promised them their ‘customs’ would be respected. The canons insisted, and Dodilo let them go but kept the relic in Cambrai for safe-keeping. Of course the canons were killed, and the community destroyed, although marble columns and beautiful old buildings there attested to its age and fineness in the author’s day. At the time of writing, the arm was still kept in Cambrai.¹¹⁰

intentionem spei suspenderet, in ipsa urbe turpem conversationem agebat, et cum Judeis negotia exercebat. Interim tamen miser morte praeventus, divina ultione percussus, inpoenitens nec confessus diem obiit.’ *GeC*, I:116, pp.452-53; MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, f.72^r.

¹⁰⁹ ‘*De villa Barala*. In vico etiam qui Barala ab incolis nomen accepit,’ *GeC*, II:11, p.458; MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, f.80^r.

¹¹⁰ ‘...monasterium canonicae congregationis extitit, a Clodoveo quidem rege ut ferunt conditum, et a beato Vedasto in honore sancti Georgii consecratum. Illic enim brachium ejusdem martiris habebatur. Hoc autem locupletissimum et venerabile columnae marmoreae, et antiqua pulchra aedificia quae adhuc supersunt, fuisse testantur. In diebus autem Dodilonis episcopi videntes canonici Normannorum

The same scribe has also extended the subsequent chapter, II:12, but this time in the margin. The text concerns a St Saturnina, from 'Germania', who had devoted her virginity to God, and fled her household when her parents decided to marry her off. She was pursued by her fiancé, who beheaded her. Allegedly she picked up her head and walked into the local church, which was dedicated to St Remigius and which was then turned into the *puellarum basilica* which existed in the author's day. The account closes with the comment, 'There is moreover an old story that after a long time the Saxons came to this area for some unknown reason, and on their way through this village they heard the sacred tale and took away part of the body of the sacred virgin.'¹¹¹

bachaniam circa istam provinciam ubique deservire, et, ut superius memoravimus, profanatis sacris cultibus sanctas Dei casas incendere, sacras reliquias cum suis quibusque necessariis in nostram aecclesiam attulerunt, ab ipso nimirum episcopo humane suscepti. Ubi per aliquod temporis demorati cum jam, adversariorum decessionem arbitantes, ad sua repedandi licentiam flagitassent, nolens episcopus eis adquiescere, ad tempus monuit differendum: sane hostium precavere perfidiam, eorum reditus suspectos doti; ne temere crederent vanae opinioni, certam securitatem potius expectarent. Audientes ergo sic episcopum, manserunt aliquandiu. Paucis vero post diebus interpositis, iterum adeunt episcopum, asserentes hostem excedere, omnia tuta, securum etiam sibi patere recessum. Ad quos episcopus: 'Quaenam, inquit, vos movet temeritas? Quod asseritis, non credo, sed fortasse vos fallit opinio; manete adhuc, moneo, state, nihil apud me vestris usibus interim defuerit. Porro gens illa ferox est et callida, nulli parcens; si incauti incideritis, maturior ausus seriore luet poenitentiam.' Illis autem contra obnixi flagitantibus, et omnia tuta procul dubio astipulantibus, adjecit: 'Cum haec ita sit vestra sententia, esto! in vestra manu deliberationem constituo; illud tamen pignus preciosi brachii apud me retinebo'; hoc quodam presagio ita disponens, ne, si videlicet, quod postea probavit eventus, adversarii incursarent, thesaurus tanti ponderis disperiret. Accepta itaque hujusmodi licentia, paratis viaticis, cum tanta obstinatione remeare coeperunt, dementes, qui supraposito pontificis non adqueverere consilio. Necdum enim tribus milibus iter ab urbe confecerant, cum ab improvisis hostibus intercepti, gladio ceciderunt. Monasterium quoque suum diruitur; tota vicinia circum et circa, praeter munitiones, male deripitur. Aecclesiolae vero reaedificatae unus tantum sacerdos postea prefuit, illudque sacrum brachium apud nos taliter hodie usque remansit.' *Ibid.*, p.458-59. See Bethmann, p.458, n.c.

¹¹¹ 'Est autem antiqua relatio quod longo post tempore Saxones, incertum qua causa, ad hanc viciniam devenerunt, et per ipsum vicum transeuntes, audita quidem sacra opinione, partem corporis sacrae virginis asportarunt.' *Ibid.*, II:12, p.459.

There were once two other inserts bound or sewn into the *Codex Sancti Gislani*. One has never been recorded and is visible only in the holes made by the sewing in the parchment, and another was still visible to Colveneere.¹¹² The latter concerns a diploma of Otto III granting a forest to Cambrai cathedral. Colveneere does not record that it was in any other hand, but he never does, so we cannot make any assumptions about the author of this one.

With the exception of the very first insert, all the other interpolations and eleventh-century marginalia seem to be by the same hand, γ . I would postulate identifying this hand with author *B*.¹¹³

It remains to be seen if we can perceive anything such as another authorial voice in the later additions. Undoubtedly, γ is also from Cambrai cathedral, just like *A*. In the description (in the seventh insert) of how the canons of St-George, Baralle, fled the Northmen to Cambrai, γ has Bishop Dodilo tell them that while they remained there, ‘nothing would be lacking from what they were accustomed to.’¹¹⁴ The author clearly understands that his audience might sympathise with canons wishing to return as quickly as possible to their own community of canons, and that they might well fear loss of their own identity and customs if under too close episcopal oversight. Nonetheless, the author depicts this fear as unwarranted, and implies it led to the outright destruction of the community. The troublesome canons and their community were replaced by a single priest and church. The moral is clearly that peripheral communities around the diocese should heed their shepherd in Cambrai. There also seems to be an increased hostility towards St-Vaast and a greater emphasis on

¹¹² *Ibid.*, I:108, p.448; Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*, p.448, n.d; Colveneere, *Chronicon*, p.484.

¹¹³ As mentioned above, p.98, van Mingroot seems to believe this was Gerard himself, but gives no reasoning.

¹¹⁴ ‘manete adhuc, moneo, state, nihil apud me vestris usibus interim defuerit’: *GeC*, II:11, p.458.

Cambrai's equal stature with Arras. The abbot of St-Vaast is depicted as failing to help one of his *familia* in a single combat. The account of the conflict with Fulrad is expanded to relate his untimely death. Such hostility would make sense if we were to identify hand γ with author *B* working in 1051-55, since it was at this time that Bishop Lietbert was having particular problems with John of Arras pursuing the claims of Walter II of Cambrai's son. Without corroborating evidence however, this must remain a hypothesis.

What we do know nonetheless is that while the *Gesta* was first composed under Gerard I, it was expanded after his death. There may be differences between the viewpoint of Gerard's original writer, *A*, and the later contributors, but any similarities are likely to prove just as interesting. If elements found in the first redaction are also found in later ones, we may not be seeing a reflection of Gerard's own views, as has often been assumed, but the views of the cathedral chapter, from which all authors came. In this rendering, the *Gesta* is less an expression of personal ideology, either of Gerard or the author, but of institutional.

Genre

Michel Sot has surveyed the phenomenon of *Gesta episcoporum* and *Gesta abbatum* in detail.¹¹⁵ Although nowhere in contemporary sources is there an explicit definition of *gesta* as a separate genre – in fact the terms *gesta* and *historia* are sometimes interchangeable¹¹⁶ – the *gesta* has enough peculiarities to make a modern

¹¹⁵ Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, Gesta abbatum* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 37, Turnhout, 1981).

¹¹⁶ Both the original *GeC* author and the later redactor refer to Flodoard's history of the church of Rheims as *gesta*: I:4, p.404, I:14, p.408, I:63, p.422. This despite the fact that in his preface Flodoard calls his work an, 'ecclesiae Remensis historiarum liber', *Historia*, Pref., p.57. See Michel Sot, *Un historien et son Église: Flodoard de Reims* ([France], 1993), pp.103-4.

classification legitimate. A *gesta* is the history of either a bishopric or abbey, which uses the succession of bishops or abbots and their careers as its organising principle. In this it is like a bishops' or abbots' list, but its longer narratives allow the author to establish the legitimacy of each succession and thereby create a link between the legendary and often saintly origins of the institution and its current head. The most defining characteristic of the *gesta* is its emphasis on place – either the episcopal city or the abbey, alongside any outlying and dependent ecclesiastical communities – as opposed to, say, a particular royal or princely family. The common factor linking its 'genealogy' of ecclesiastics is not blood, land or even divine dispensation or office, but the sacred topography unique to the bishopric or abbey in question, and a key function of the genre and the reason for its heavy use of documents is to establish title to lands and communities.¹¹⁷

To define the *gesta* thus is not to say that the genre was sealed off from influences from other kinds of texts. Indeed to relate the history of, say, a city in all its aspects, recourse had to be made to a whole variety of other writings. The *gesta* was by definition somewhere between a bishops' list and a *historia*; *vitae* are drawn on to relate the careers of earlier bishops; the interpolation of charters and *diplomata* can even make the text resemble a cartulary.¹¹⁸ Indeed one literary connection not brought out by Sot is that between the *gesta* and *miracula*. The latter could also be called *libri gestorum*.¹¹⁹ *Miracula* were sampled by the authors of *gesta* to give biographical details of earlier saintly bishops whom the present incumbent was supposed to honour and imitate. The temporal deeds of more recent figures were thus implicitly comparable to the

¹¹⁷ Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, p.21.

¹¹⁸ Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, pp.15, 18, 21.

¹¹⁹ Mentioning the translation of St Vedast by Bishops Autbert and Audomar, he writes, 'sicut in libro vitae ejus, et plenius in gestis beati Autberti legitur.' I:9, p.407. See also I:12,

supratemporal ones of the saints. Instead of miracles testifying to the continuing power of the 'very special dead', land acquisitions, religious foundations and reformations testified and extended the renown of the more mundane bishop.

The borders of the various genres were thus permeable, but to acknowledge this fluidity does not make it necessary to deny its usefulness as a category. Most importantly, it is clear that the authors of the various *gesta* took their inspiration from each other. There is, as it were, a genealogy of *gesta*, of which Sot was able to suggest a reconstruction.¹²⁰ The first appearance of a set of *gesta* North of the Alps was Paul the Deacon's work on the bishops of Metz written sometime between 783 and 791. Paul's *Gesta*'s accounts of the reforms of Chrodegang of Metz and of his foundation of Gorze are particularly interesting given the career of Gerard's patron, Adalbero of Rheims, who was educated at Gorze (with Rothard of Cambrai), became a canon of Metz and then on becoming archbishop of Rheims reformed its community of canons where Gerard would be trained.¹²¹ As well as Metz, the monastery of St-Germain, Auxerre played an important role in the diffusion of the *gesta* genre. The *gesta* of Auxerre were originally written by canons probably under the influence of the schoolmaster of St-Germain at the time of Charles the Bald, Heric, who taught Charles's son, Lothar.¹²² Thus in the cases both of Paul the Deacon and Heric, the writing of episcopal history is tied up with having close links to the royal court and central authority.

Heric was also the teacher of Hucbald of St-Amand, who, along with Heric's successor as schoolmaster of St-Germain, Remi, was summoned by Fulk of Rheims sometime in the 880s to restore the see's cathedral school. It was at this school that

¹²⁰ The following relies on Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, pp.33-36. See also *idem*, *Un historien*, pp.104-5.

¹²¹ *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, pp.260-70; see above, pp.64-66, esp. p.65, n.92.

¹²² *Gesta sanctorum patrum Autissiodorensium*, L. M. Duru (ed.), in *Bibliothèque Historique de l'Yonne*, vol.1 (Auxerre, 1850), pp.309-509.

Flodoard was educated. Of all the works that fit the *gesta* type, it is only Flodoard's *Historia ecclesiae Remensis* which the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* explicitly mention as a source.¹²³ Hucbald meanwhile had further influence on history writing in the vicinity of Cambrai. He helped reform the monastery of St-Bertin, for which the monk Folcuin wrote the *gesta* c.961.¹²⁴ Shortly afterwards, in 965, Folcuin became abbot of Lobbes, in the diocese of Cambrai but under the secular authority of Liège, and wrote the *gesta* for his new monastery as well.¹²⁵ In this he was heavily influenced by Flodoard.¹²⁶ Folcuin was the teacher of Heriger of Lobbes, his eventual successor, who went on to be commissioned by Bishop Notker of Liège (972-1008) to write the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*.¹²⁷ Although the meagreness of our sources do not allow us to make any direct connections – the works of Folcuin and Heriger left no trace in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* – Gerard was from Florennes in the diocese of Liège, where his father began to set up a community which Gerard completed, and Lobbes itself, although under the temporal jurisdiction of Liège, was within the boundaries of the diocese of Cambrai and so under Gerard's spiritual authority.¹²⁸ It is therefore eminently possible, even likely, that Gerard and his author were aware of the literary output of Lobbes, just as we can be sure they knew of that in Rheims. Certainly the continuation of the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* by another monk from Lobbes, Anselm, in the 1040s ought to be seen in relation to the writing of the *Gesta*

¹²³ *GeC*, I:4, p.404, I:14, p.408, I:63, p.422.

¹²⁴ *La polyptique de l'abbaye de St Bertin (844-859)*, F. L. Ganshof et al. (eds) (Paris, 1975).

¹²⁵ Folcuin of Lobbes, *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, G. Waitz (ed.), *MGH SS IV* (Hanover, 1841), pp.54-74.

¹²⁶ Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, p.36.

¹²⁷ Anselm, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, pp.189-234.

¹²⁸ See the letter of the monks of Lobbes to Rothard of Cambrai and Notker of Liège, cited in *GeC*, III:106, p.445: 'vestram convenimus paternitatem submissi, quoniam quidem alterum vestrum animabus, alterum Deus voluit subintendere corporibus'.

episcoporum Cameracensium. On the other hand, Anselm's dedication of his work to Abbo of Cologne makes an interesting contrast to the Cambrai author's inspiration from Rheims. While in this period archbishops had little formal power over their suffragans, the respective authors do seem to view themselves as part of provincial communities. That the Cambrai author looks West to Rheims for ecclesiastical authority is significant in the light of his Eastern political bias.¹²⁹

Although the Cambrai author partly relies on Flodard's *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* for content, his reliance on it as a model is very loose indeed, largely restricted to the way the work is divided (although he does use Flodoard extensively as a historical source). Whereas normally *gesta* simply proceed from episcopate to episcopate, Flodoard's model is divided into four books, the first two of which unfold 'conventionally'. The third on the other hand is entirely devoted to Hincmar of Rheims and rather than being so much a history of his episcopate, is constructed as a sort of catalogue of his correspondence and writings. Finally, the last book deals with the episcopates of bishops up to the synod of Ingelheim (948) and is rounded off with some miracle accounts.¹³⁰

The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* resemble this structure in being divided into three qualitatively different books. The first, which draws heavily on the text of Flodoard's *Historia* for the earlier sections, relates the history of Cambrai-Arras from earliest times to the death of Gerard's predecessor, Erluin. In this it very closely resembles Flodoard, especially in its heavy inclusion of charters inside the text. One unusual characteristic the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* share with Flodoard's *Historia* is that not every episcopate is dealt with in one chapter – often a given bishop will be given several chapters' space. Nonetheless, the accounts of each episcopate

¹²⁹ See below, p.207.

¹³⁰ Sot, *Un historien*, p.106.

generally follow the standard *gesta* structure, modelled on that of the *Liber pontificalis*: description of the bishop's family and origin, the circumstances of his ordination, history of the episcopate, his works (in writing, building or ritual, such as translations) and the circumstances of his death.¹³¹

Book II of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* lists the various religious communities of the diocese, giving their location, dedication, number of members, and occasionally brief histories or accounts of miracles. Unlike in the narrative sections of the *Gesta*, at no point are *diplomata* quoted. Whereas Flodoard used the enumeration of works to build his subject's authority, the Cambrai author enumerates houses to describe the sacred space within which Gerard will be described as working. By the time Flodoard was writing of course, Hincmar was dead and already had a reputation, whereas the Cambrai author was trying to create one for the still active Gerard. Thus Gerard draws his authority initially from where he is – his episcopal 'inheritance' – rather than what he has not yet done, at least as far as the narrative is concerned.

It is in the subsequent and final book, which likewise resembles Flodoard's Book III in being devoted to one bishop, that the Cambrai author describes how Gerard fulfils the position given him. Although the structure of this book had to differ somewhat from the accounts of earlier episcopates, since it was written while Gerard was still alive, and although its current form is a later creation, it does seem to have been intended to follow the earlier structure.¹³² It opens with a brief account of Gerard's background (III:1), followed by the circumstances of his appointment and ordination (III:2). We then have the story of Gerard's various troubles, and his depiction as defender of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Finally there are accounts of his building work,

¹³¹ A pattern also followed in the *Gesta sanctorum patrum Autissiodorensium*. See, for example, the chapter on Bishop Wibold (879-87): c.40, p.358.

¹³² See above, p.87.

and there also seems to have been added a description of his death and burial before the commencement of the *Gesta Lietberti*.¹³³ Yet as has already been demonstrated, this is neither the original construction of the third book, nor is the emphasis in the final book evenly distributed – the focus narrows on the last couple of years prior to redaction.¹³⁴ Thus the author must have expected his work to be continued either analitically as events unfolded or after Gerard's death, which in fact seems to have happened.

Like miracle collections, *gesta* were therefore known to be potentially open-ended. In this they betrayed their roots in the *liber pontificalis* and in the compilation of bishops' lists. Thus Sot is mistaken, in my opinion, when he argues that the continuations should be seen as operating differently from the original redaction of a *gesta*.¹³⁵ On the contrary, the original must also be understood as presupposing its continuation. The consequences of this conscious open-endedness for the composition of the *gesta* and our subsequent interpretation will be dealt with below.¹³⁶

Method and Audience

Precisely who might have been this intended audience is difficult to guess. Heinz Thomas has identified a lay audience for the late eleventh-century *Gesta Treverorum*.¹³⁷ But his argument is based on the prominence vis-à-vis the bishop of the *principes civitatis* in the work itself, which he is able to identify with the lay vassals and ministerials of the bishop, and the simple Latin style in which the text is written. Neither of these conditions is present in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, but Thomas's

¹³³ E. van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', pp.288.

¹³⁴ Georges Duby, 'Gérard de Cambrai, la paix', p.139.

¹³⁵ Sot, *Gesta episcoporum*, p.52.

¹³⁶ See below, pp.137-39.

¹³⁷ Heinz Thomas, *Studien zur Trierer Geschichtsschreibung des 11. Jahrhunderts, insbesondere zu den Gesta Treverorum* (1968), pp.143-51.

conclusions remind us that the *gesta* is an essentially local genre and we should first look for a local audience.

The manuscript tradition bears this suggestion out, as it is restricted entirely to ecclesiastical institutions of the region – the dioceses of Cambrai, Arras and Liège, and other textual witnesses, such as the chronicle of St-Andrew's in Cateau-Cambrésis and Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon*, also point towards the *Gesta*'s use as a source for local history. Extracts describing St Gaugeric's posthumous miracles crop up as an extension of his *Vita*, and are followed by an episcopal list, again indicating the permeability of this latter genre with those of the *vita*, *miracula* and *gesta* in all directions.¹³⁸ Of course this strictly proves nothing about the intended audience, only about the use the text was eventually given by those under whose care it was most likely to survive into the modern period. Nevertheless, the use of the *Gesta* as a source for further historiographical works matches its own exploitation of other texts, such as the *vitae*. In addition we know from parallel instances that such works might be used as reference works. Flodoard is relatively well evidenced in this respect – Folcuin mentions being in Rheims and asking Archbishop Adalbero about the see's history. Adalbero then had the cathedral copy of Flodoard's work brought to them, and together the abbot and the archbishop used it to discuss the origins of the city and its run of bishops.¹³⁹ Not only would this indicate a future clerical audience who could be expected to investigate the history of their respective institution, but it also has wider implications for the use to which the *Gesta* might have been put and the audiences it might have reached.

I would like to demonstrate what I mean by looking at a famous incident from the *Gesta* – Gerard's encounter with and rejection of a peace oath, made famous

¹³⁸ MS Cambrai BM 864, from St-Sepulchre, dated to episcopate of Gerard II (1076-93), ff.110^r-125^v.

¹³⁹ Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, c.7, p.58. See below, pp.133-34.

because the event leads him to elucidate the Three Orders social scheme. Later we will have to revisit the account to examine the circumstances of its composition and whether we can identify ‘how it actually was.’ For the meantime, we are interested in the forms of communication the *Gesta* account involves.

Some time in late 1034 or early 1035,¹⁴⁰ according to the *Gesta*’s report, Count Baldwin IV of Flanders and Walter, the castellan of Cambrai, inspired by some unnamed West Frankish bishops, attempted to arrange a peace oath which allegedly would have abolished the practice of penance. Gerard was forced into defending his opposition to this development. His immediate reaction to the events in West Francia apparently took the form of a speech (*eloquium*), which *B* summarizes, then quotes more extensively, in Latin. It is not entirely clear, but *B* seems to imply there were two steps, first a speech, then a written publication of it which he cites.¹⁴¹

The form of Gerard’s immediately subsequent attempt to prevent the promulgation of a peace agreement in Douai is not given, but its instigator, the castellan Walter, is said to have told everyone ‘inside and out’¹⁴² (although of what is unclear) that Gerard was an enemy of the peace, and when Gerard came to Douai, the bishop is said to have run into ‘the cries of the people for the establishment of a false peace’.¹⁴³ The account is entirely in Latin, but the description would seem to indicate primarily oral argument, whether in the form of slander or sermonising.

¹⁴⁰ David C. Van Meter, ‘The peace of Amiens-Corbie’, pp.633-57.

¹⁴¹ ‘Hac novitate pulsatus mandati presul noster, infirmitatque peccantium condescendens, secundum decreta sanctorum patrum ad singula suum formavit eloquium. Genus humanum ab initio trifariam divisum esse monstravit, in oratoribus, agricultoribus, pugnatoribus; horumque singulos alterutrum dextra laevaue foveri, evidens documentum dedit:...’, *GeC*, III:52, p.485.

¹⁴² ‘Suggererat in aures omnium Walterus, qui erant foris et intus, episcopum paci nolle adquiescere...’, *ibid.*, III:53, p.487.

¹⁴³ ‘...conventus populi vocibus de statuenda pace falsa...’, *ibid.*, III:53, p.486.

This impression is even more striking in the final stage of this conflict. Under pressure from Baldwin of Flanders, Gerard gathered relics at a designated spot on the border of the dioceses of Cambrai-Arras. An enormous crowd was present. Again Walter went all around, inside and out, whispering that Gerard was an enemy of the peace, and almost bringing the people to violence. The bishop was nevertheless able to quieten the crowd by denouncing Walter, so that they could listen to his teaching on peace, a peace which, unlike Walter's, left room for penance.¹⁴⁴ *B* then says he feels it is necessary to repeat what the bishop had taught, and quotes the sermon, in Latin, on the ability of the imperfect to enter heaven.

There are a number of reasons why this story is interesting, but I want to draw out three. Firstly, the conflict is depicted as characterised by a multiplicity of spaces, places, media and stagings, each manipulated by the protagonists in their attempts to outmanoeuvre each other. This world is presented as a multimedia one. Secondly, laymen are accorded key roles as agents, but also as prizes. In this text at least, they are imagined as independent actors who are nevertheless open to moral persuasion. In other words, the story betrays a myriad of contested claims, episcopal, moral, comital, religious, popular, made in a variety of ways, in oration, slander, ritual, space, location

¹⁴⁴ 'His ita gestis, Balduinus tunc temporis Flandrensiu comes hortari coepit episcopum, ut populo favens, pacem sacramento firmare juberet. Ille ne tunc quidem a sensu bono deficiens, non alia quam quae lex et evangelium adnuntiat, jubere professus est. Tandem taedio victus, inter confines Cameraci et Atrebatu multis sanctorum corporibus delatis, cum maxima turba ad locum designatum venit. Sed ne hic quidem feriabatur Walterus, nunc circumcirca, nunc foras et intra ambulans et mussitans, hunc repugnare paci, in tantum ut populum commoveret prope ad inferendam vim. Qui minime fractus, hunc publice tali modo pro confutanda ejus malitia allocutus est, dicens: »Pictura insinuat imaginem diaboli ad aurem stare Simonis, suggerentem quae voce proferret adversus Petrum apostolum contendens. Nec tua te refert actio, qui ad malum ad quod non sufficis, commoves ceteros.« Deinceps populum ad audiendum sedat, et quam inter se pacem quaererent, qui commanducare eum volebant, edocet. Factoque verbo de salute animae, quae christianitatis lex jubet sua sponte se servare, promittere monet; et cum deviarent, ad poenitentiam redirent. Alacres itaque facti, dicta ejus pro vero tenentes, unanimes promiserunt, et ad propria cum pace redierunt.' *Ibid.*, III:54, p487.

as well as different forms of writing, and all of this both by clergy and laity. The incident does not divide into neat literate/oral, clerical/lay categories. Thirdly, lastly, and most obviously, the entire dispute has been written down, in Latin, by a cleric, and bound into a codex with other, related material. Thus what was oral has become written, what was vernacular has become Latin, and what was already written and possibly already Latin has been wholly recontextualised.

Yet the nature of this recontextualisation is a special one. For the description of this dispute does not belong to the original work in which it was included. After all, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, namely, had been conceived and largely written a full ten years before the events in question took place. Although we have lost the autograph manuscript of this part of the work, the account is clearly just one of the later interpolations that result in the text losing much chronological and almost all narrative coherence towards the end of Book III. So although the account *has* a context, there was no attempt at *integrating* the text into its new home.

Nevertheless, while the loss of chronological order makes the case in question a bad one, the neglect of narrative integration is supposedly typical of medieval historiography. Even normally sympathetic observers such as Gabrielle Spiegel have condemned medieval historical genres for their inability to incorporate their list of events into any overarching interpretative framework, an inability that supposedly precluded strict source criticism and granted rumour, legend and fairy tale the status of historical fact.¹⁴⁵ In this reading, medieval historiography was intended only to provide a transparent account of what actually happened, and the interpretative context for this account is said to have been salvation history (*Heilsgeschichte*). The medieval reader or

¹⁴⁵ Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historiography', *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Histriography* (Baltimore, 1997), pp.100-102.

listener is supposed to have understood these events not as connected to one other in a linear chain of causation, but as manifestations of a supratemporal divine will.

I do not want to dispute here the correctness of this widespread interpretation of medieval historiography. After all, the very first chapter of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* links the work's two subjects, cities and bishops, in the context of divine Providence. Picking up from Cicero's *De inventione*, the author describes how cities were founded when humans learnt to live together under laws, but goes on to explain how divine providence thus created the circumstances in which the church might later flourish.¹⁴⁶ This is the interpretative angle that is central to Michel Sot's work on the *Gesta episcoporum* and *abbatum*, work which is rightly the starting point for all students of the topic. Instead of rejecting such an approach entirely, I would like to question its usefulness in interpreting the construction of individual works.

In the first place, the interpretative framework suggested is essentially a narrative one. In order for the *Gesta* to persuade you to see Gerard as standing in the direct line of St Gaugeric or St Vedast, you have to have read the entire work, something it is unlikely a layman would have done, however optimistic our assessments of the laity's Latin. To think of the message of the *Gesta* as requiring a narrative framework is thus to assume a clerical audience. Again, I do not wish to argue that this was *not* the case – some clerics undoubtedly did read the whole thing, if only the later copyists – but I think there is more to it than that.

The *Heilsgeschichte* interpretation is of course taken from ideas prevalent, indeed central, to the self-image of the Christian church. Although *Heilsgeschichte* can be safely assumed to have been *part* of the world-view of the clergy, and to have been accepted by *part* of the laity, we must be careful not to generalise the world-view of

¹⁴⁶ *GeC*, I:1, p.402.

either group, particularly the latter. After all, our sources for it are, like almost all our sources for the period, entirely of church provenance. Even conceding that this is less of a problem if we assume a church audience, nonetheless, as the account of the peace initiative recounted above shows, the clergy were not the only ones who liked to have a say in things. If the ideology propagated by the *Gesta* – the authority of the bishop – were to have much practical effect in persuading people to serve the bishop's interests, then it had to be able to be used outside a purely clerical context. Again, this is not a problem if we assume that the laity was fully implicated in and in agreement with the ideology our clerical sources propagate. This is nevertheless an assumption, and one that collapses the whole value system of the Middle Ages into the view of sources which we know are biased. It is surely very unlikely that the viewpoints of the clergy and laity were identical, and that no translation, conceptual as well as linguistic, was at all necessary to communicate the ideas in our ecclesiastical sources to an audience outside those institutions.

Finally, the *Heilsgeschichte* reading is a very general one. Any historical event can, and probably was, interpreted as reflecting God's will working in human history. It is therefore difficult to see why, say, the Cambrai version of events can thereby claim special authority vis-à-vis other versions. It is difficult to see what persuasive value salvation history might have had, given that persuasion is necessarily grounded on a differentiation of truth claims ("I am right *and* the other is wrong"), a differentiation that salvation narrative does not encourage.

In fact, if we look at what actually happened to the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, we would have to say that, if its authority had in fact relied on the salvation narrative, it only partially succeeded. We do have full copies of the text, but extracts also survive in other manuscripts attached to other texts, and while their

copyists indeed had to have read the entire text, the subsequent audience would not necessarily have had any idea of the original context.¹⁴⁷

So if historiography did not gain its authority only from narrativity, then it remains to discover where else it might have done so. Fortunately, the author of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* tells us. In the prologue, he admits that his information has been taken from ‘common talk’, and that the age of the material might lead to doubts on the part of a reader, but he assures us that ‘nothing doubtful or fictitious has been included, not even anything that is true, unless we found it in the annals and histories of the Fathers, or in the deeds of the kings, or alternatively in the charters, which are still in the archive of this church, or unless we accept that it was both seen and heard by reliable sources. In any case, it is better to be silent than to spread falsehoods.’¹⁴⁸

And this is in fact the procedure the author adopts, excerpting and paraphrasing from a variety of saints’ *vitae*, charters, and from other historiographical works such as Gregory of Tours’s *Ten Books* and most noticeably Flodoard’s *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*. Only from roughly the 970s, in other words within living memory, does he start to write in a manner usually, and misleadingly, called ‘independently’.

¹⁴⁷ Brussels BR 5468 (971), f.186^v contains only and edited version of *GeC*, I:94-98, pp.439-41 (see below, p.203, n.48), followed by I:104, p.444. Cambrai BM 864, ff.124^v-5^r contains *GeC*, II:5-7, pp.457-58, followed by I:80-84, pp.431-32. Douai BM 851 contains an edited version of the second book (ff.83^r-93^v), which follows a copy of the *Vita Lietberti*: (ff.50^r-78^v); the intervening folia are a paper insert, containing *inter alia*, some of *GeC*, II:3-8, pp.455-58. The manuscripts Brussels BR 7675-7682 constitute a full version of the *GeC*.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Quae quamlibet rustico sermone edita, satis tamen apparent liquida. Nec tamen eo lector temere moveatur, quod tam antiqua modernis reddidimus; quia nihil dubium, nihil fictum positum est, nihil etiam revera preter quod aut in annalibus atque historiis Patrum, seu et in gestis regum, sed et in kartis quoque, quae adhuc in archivo ipsius aecclesiae sunt, repperimus, aut a certis relatoribus et visa et audita accepimus. Alioquin melius est tacere, quam falsa proferre.’ *Ibid.*, Pref., p.402.

The author of the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, Folcuin of Lobbes, tells us how this sort of source use was supposed to have worked in practice. Although he does not state this explicitly, Folcuin seems to have been researching the history of Lobbes at the time of his visit to Rheims: Lobbes, although at the time under the temporal authority of the bishop of Liège was in the diocese of Cambrai and thus part of the province of Rheims. Folcuin says he went to Adalbero because the archbishop was the ‘most erudite’ man of those parts, but part of this erudition seems to have been his access to and ability to use Flodoard’s work. What follows is particularly interesting: the traditions of Rheims promise to bolster those of Lobbes. In the previous chapter, Folcuin had described how the Irish ascetic Abel became abbot of his monastery. Folcuin and Adalbero discover that Flodoard also lists an Abel, but as an archbishop of Rheims, and fails to indicate when he reigned. Understandably, Folcuin was eager to associate ‘our Irishman’, as he calls Abel, with the alleged archbishop of the same name, and claims he can calculate that Flodoard is referring to the period Abel was abbot of Lobbes. Yet Adalbero brings up a problem: he mentions a Rheims custom of commemorating the dead whereby the names of all the previous bishops are recited from writing to the priest during the consecration of the host. Here we have yet another example of the multiple functions of a given text – ceremonial and documentary. Unfortunately Abel is not on the list. Folcuin solves the problem by claiming that Abel was already a bishop,¹⁴⁹ only took over Rheims temporarily under orders, and then withdrew from the world, refusing to be entered in the bishops’ list out of love of God.

¹⁴⁹ In c.3, Folcuin had tried to explain why Ursmar was called ‘bishop’ in ‘the charters made out at that time and on ancient pieces of parchment’ [*in cartis sub eius tempore factis ac perantiquis membranarum peciolis*]. He gave two possible explanations given by *seniores nostri*, that Ursmar had been ordained bishop to help convert the pagans, or that Lobbes’s then position next to a royal palace meant only a bishop was deemed worthy to head it. He leaves it to the reader to decide. See Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, c.3, p.57.

Folcuin then feels the need to defend Abel against charges of heresy, presumably for abandoning his see (although the reason is never made explicit). He does this by using Abel's asceticism as proof of his holiness, and by claiming that Abel worked against heretics, and had to be tested so as to be received by his predecessors Ursmar and Ermin in heaven after his death. Finally, Folcuin mentions that nothing is known about Abel's successor in Lobbes, Bishop Vulgisus either, but he is mentioned in the monastery's oldest martyrologies and his mausoleum could apparently still be seen in Folcuin's time.¹⁵⁰

I have dwelt on this one passage from the *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium* because it reveals not only the possible work strategies of our author, but also how authority and

¹⁵⁰ 'De Abel supra nominato tale quid comperimus. Remis cum fuisset, et cum viro venerabili et illarum partium eruditissimo confabularemur Adalberone archiepiscopo, requirentibus nobis originem eiusdem civitatis et in ea episcoporum successiones, prolatis eiusdem civitatis pontificalibus gestis, pro oportunitate temporis satisfacit. In quibus videlicet gestis inventum est, quod in eadem civitate Abel quidam fuerit episcopus, qui in ea plura vel adquisierit vel ordinaverit; finis vero eius quis fuerit, scriptor gestorum aut nescivit, aut omnino tacere voluit. Nos ventilatis undecumque temporum numeris, hunc eundem Abel et nostrum fuisse et Scotum et episcopum, facili ratione probavimus. Sed quia scriptori eius incertus extitit finis, longinquitas forte fecit itineris, et viri religiosi voluntaria privatio, et amor patriae coelestis. Dixit etiam episcopus supra nominatus, praedecessorum suorum ductam usque ad se consuetudinem, ut inter missarum sollemnia in ea speciali commemoratione defunctorum, quae super diptica dicitur et in consecratione dominici corporis sollemniter agitur, cotidie in aurem presbyteri recitante silenter subdiacono, omnium ipsius sedis nomina scripto inveniatur. Quod, ut conicimus, idcirco actum est, ut ipse vacanti sedi, iam antea episcopus, iussus sit aliquantisper insidere; at pro amore Dei voluntaria cessione sponte catalogum repudiasse. Nam hereticum illum in hoc non est credere, quod hereticis non resistere idem pene est quod favere, et tot tantique viri tunc temporis non sinerent tale quid serpere; quin immo inditis scriptis publicis, sive ad praecavendam sive ad confutandam heresim, libera insequerentur auctoritas, Domino terribiliter interminante: 'Maledictus,' inquit, 'qui prohibuerit gladium suum a sanguine.' [Jer. 48:10] Nec fieri potuit, ut eos, quorum mente in coelis erat conversatio, Ursmarum dico et Erminum, non nisi imitaturus expeteret, cum ab ipsis recipi non potuit, nisi probatus et ipse antea in castris dominicis fuerit exercitatus. Sed et de sancto Vulgiso episcopo nil ad nos praeter parum perlatum est. Invenimus tamen in nostris perantiquis martyrologiis, quod dies natalitii eius sic adnotatur: 'Pridie Nonas Februarii in Laubaco monasterio deposito sancti Vulgisi episcopi.' Sed et mausoleum, in quo conditus iacet, in promptu est cernere.' *Ibid.*, c.7, pp.58-59.

credibility were constructed at all. We see here a mix of personal authority (Adalbero), writing (Flodoard, the bishops' list, the martyrologies) and material culture (the mausoleum) used to prove the historicity of Folcuin's arguments. On one level the weighing of different pieces of evidence, and the making of connections between them do not differ in any essential way from the actions of a modern historian. On another, and in keeping with the statements in his own preface, Folcuin's test of veracity is compatibility with the *Heilsgeschichte* in which Lobbes plays its part.¹⁵¹ Thus the 'modern' and the 'medieval' do not so much mix in as make up one and the same argumentation. Yet, as we have seen, *Heilsgeschichte* alone does not account for authority, and it is an alternative explanation that we can find in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.

Folcuin is sympathetic to modern observers precisely because he seems to lay his working methods so bare. He demonstrates the authority of his account by exposing his working methods and demonstrating his gathering and reconciliation of a number of sources, written, oral and material. His uncertainty about the eighth century fits ours about the tenth. The author of the *Gesta* has been similarly well-regarded, both because we know he recopied imperial charters faithfully, and because he occasionally reveals a (for us) healthy unwillingness to speculate.¹⁵² Thus, in speaking of the origins of Cambrai and Arras, he compares the little known about their foundation with the varying stories of Rome's, arguing that if the passage of time can make the authorities differ on the history of such a great city, it is hardly surprising that nothing is known about Cambrai and Arras. The only information he has, he cites explicitly from Caesar, and backs it up with a reference to still-existing earthworks which supposedly mark

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.54-55.

¹⁵² *GeC*, I:2, p.403. See Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1999), pp.152-53, 217.

where the Roman camp had been. Again, we see the same sort of methods modern scholars such as archaeologists use – speculation is avoided; sources are explicitly cited; a landmark is found to match a sequence in a written text. Note nonetheless that the arrow of proof points in the other direction – the landmark proves the truth of the written text and not *vice versa*.

This textual conceit of constantly referring outside itself for authority is a familiar one in medieval historiography, but the implications need I think to be taken seriously. The authority of the text does not in the first place rely on its construction of a narrative, a coherent argument or an interpretative framework, but on its ability to gather information from elsewhere. In this sense it differs from modern historical argument, which gains persuasiveness not just through the knowledge of sources but through cohesion and consistency. In contrast, the *Gesta* refer constantly outside themselves to other sources, written, material and, although this is of course harder to pinpoint, oral. What the sources of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* have in common is that they are already accepted as authorities, such as Gregory of Tours or Flodoard, or, as in the cases of charters or eye-witnesses, they were closer to the events in question. Given that these sources are in themselves authoritative, there is little value added in integrating them into a narrative whole.

None of this is to say that the author was actually as much a slave to his sources as he claims to be. As we have seen, the author of the second redaction of the *Gesta* has expanded the original extract from Gregory of Tours on Clovis's conquest of Ragnachar and his pagan Franks by excerpting from Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*. There, Flodoard had written about how Ragnachar's men were converted by St Remigius. The second Cambrai author repeats the story, but rather sniffily adds: 'But we believe it was in fact done by the blessed Vedast, for we have never heard of St

Remigius having preached the word of God to the people in our parts, but we know that the blessed Vedast was sent by him and the newly baptized king [i.e. Clovis] to this our city to convert the natives. For this reason we believe [Vedast] to have been responsible for this achievement.¹⁵³

The incident is unusual in that the author here directly contradicts his source, rather than trying to reconcile it as Folcuin had done. This may be because Flodoard's work was too well-known, whereas otherwise the author would simply have omitted the story on the principle that it was better to be silent than to spread falsehoods. In a world where book production and reproduction was difficult, you could perhaps more effectively guarantee that an opposing argument would be forgotten if you simply did not copy it rather than if you argued against and thereby necessarily reproduced it. After all, the Cambrai author may disagree with Flodoard's reading of the conversion of the Cambrai Franks, but to do so he needs to repeat it first, thereby helping to preserve it. (This differs from modern book production, where copies are so readily available that a single author's neglect of a source is unlikely to have much effect on that source's chance of being read. Today, if you want to stop people believing a falsehood, it is best to tackle it head-on because they are going to be able to read it elsewhere anyway).

Given that these historians not just worked by paraphrasing and excerpting, but were perfectly aware that they did so, indeed used the fact as proof of their sincerity, I would suggest they expected the same to be done to their own works. I mentioned previously the fate of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* in later copies, but the same process can of course be seen in the autograph manuscript itself. Both the account of the negotiations over the peace oath and of the conversion of the pagan Franks were added to the *Gesta* after the first redaction and there are the other erasures, insertions

¹⁵³ See above, pp.108-9.

and marginal additions. In short the text itself was far from stable, not just because of the process of copying but also in regards of the original version.

Surely we should assume that our subjects were aware of the limits and possibilities of their media, and structured their texts accordingly. It is here perhaps as much as in ideas of *Heilsgeschichte* that we can find an explanation for the repetitiveness and lack of overall framework in medieval historiography. If it was known that texts were going to be sampled and excerpted, there was little point in constructing an elaborate narrative. There would have been more chance for an author to communicate his ideological point if it were made again and again in each individual segment or episode, thereby surviving even reuse in later works, as Flodoard's point about Remigius survived its reuse in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*. Just as modern politicians have abandoned the public oration for the soundbite, since the nature of television means that longer speeches would not be communicated anyway, so perhaps did medieval historians build their histories out of repetitive segments, since given the realities of medieval book production these segments had a higher chance of reproduction than the whole.

If this is indeed the case, then this also multiplies the ways in which the ideological point of works such as the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* might have reached the laity. We no longer have to assume that the text worked only by being read in full, or even extensively, and so being only available to clerics. Instead we can assume that it was excerpted, and used in contexts completely different to the literate and learned one of the cathedral library, perhaps in precisely the sort of multimedia dispute resolution described previously. And precisely because the contexts were perhaps more malleable than a narrative interpretation would have us believe, we no

longer have to assume a homogeneous historical discourse in terms of salvation history, and can allow room for a plurality of interpretations, even for medieval people.

In short medieval historians such as the Cambrai author knew that medieval book production and reproduction meant that their texts would never be stable. Indeed, they expected their works to be continued by future generations who would thereby entirely recontextualise what had gone before. The authors therefore insured against the loss of ideological meaning by dividing their histories into self-sufficient episodes, each of whose points would still be valid even if taken out of the context of the original work. They ordered these episodes chronologically, leaving open the possibility of reading them as a historical narrative in the salvation-history mold, but avoided binding the individual segments into an interpretative framework outside of which they might then become meaningless. The flexibility of medieval historiography resulting from these mechanics of literacy also suggests ways in which a specific diocesan ideology, such as that expressed in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, might have reached the laity without needing us to assume a homogeneous, undebated religious faith in salvation history and the ability of a single bishop to manifest it.

CHAPTER 3

THE ORDERING OF SOCIETY

Few descriptions of medieval society can be as well known as the tripartite division into those who work, those who fight and those who pray. The Three Orders scheme has generated an enormous historiographical literature, partly because it seems to be a precursor to later medieval estates, and partly because its inclusion of the workers or peasants appears to be a reaction to large-scale societal change. Thus the scheme has been studied under the rubric of intellectual history, and its origins pinpointed to ninth-century Auxerre.¹ Yet more controversially it has been interpreted in terms of the so-called revolution or mutation of the year 1000. In particular two early eleventh-century instances, the first from Adalbero of Laon's *Carmen ad Robertum regem* and the second from the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* have been repeatedly drawn into this debate. While the two are often dealt with together, it is the latter in which I am interested here.²

The *Gesta* in fact contain two statements on the functional division of society, only one of which is tripartite, but both of which purport to be reactions to the so-called Peace of God movement. This would seem to confirm Georges Duby's famous reading in his *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* that Gerard (and Adalbero) were political conservatives, hankering after a lost Carolingian, public power. Most damningly, the *Gesta*'s first mention of the Peace of God, at the instigation of Warin of Beauvais and Berold of Soissons, is said to be due to 'the weakness of the king' and is condemned for encroaching on 'royal right'. A clearer confirmation that Gerard's

¹ Iogna-Prat, 'Le baptême du schéma', *passim*.

² It should be noted that there are outstanding editorial issues with the *Carmen*: Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Adalbero von Laon', 632-35.

concerns centred on anarchy unleashed by a weak king could hardly be wished for. Yet this does not take into account the context of the source as a whole, and is based on an assumption that the Peace of God is a radical social movement, an assumption largely derived from the *Gesta* themselves. Before this study returns to the *Gesta*, therefore, it is necessary to examine the concept of the Peace of God critically.

In their 1992 volume of collected articles on the Peace of God, Thomas Head and Richard Landes attempt a definition of what the 'movement' was, describing it as one of 'the many responses to the perceived disorder at the turn of the millennium':

Rather than rely solely on the protection afforded by secular princes, ecclesiastical lords turned to their neighboring patron saints and the populace of their territories for assistance in keeping the peace. Leading regional bishops convoked councils of their fellow bishops, meetings that were also attended by the abbots of important monastic communities and by various secular leaders. Monks from the region raised up the relics enshrined in their churches and took them to the sites of the councils, where the saints could serve as witnesses and representatives of divine authority. The presence of such treasures drew large numbers of men and women from an enthusiastic *populus*. All converged on the large open fields that were the favoured sites of Peace councils. There – surrounded by clerical and lay magnates, by saints, and by their social inferiors – members of the warrior elite took oaths of peace, framed in a context that mobilized what a modern observer might call popular opinion.³

The volume in question explicitly concerns the early phase of the Peace of God movement, around the year 1000, whereas this discussion is interested in Peace of God councils from the 1020s and 1030s, when 'great rulers', in other words the French king, dukes and powerful counts, are, according to a more recent textbook, thought to have taken over the initiative.⁴ Yet the image created by the historiography of the early Peace

³ Thomas Head and Richard Landes, 'Introduction', in *idem* (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992), pp.1-2.

⁴ Geoffrey Koziol, 'Political Culture', in Marcus Bull (ed.), *France in the Central Middle Ages 900-1200* (Oxford, 2002), pp.53-54.

of God movement informs our understanding of its later manifestation: witness Koziol's description of the secular magnates 'taking over' the councils. It is also the case that much of the impression of the earlier movement in fact originates not from sources of the time, but from those written during the 1020s and 1030s, including the text in question here, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*.⁵

A survey of the historiography has been undertaken by Frederick Paxton in the Head and Landes volume;⁶ detail would thus be redundant here. Nevertheless, I would like to make some comments on Paxton's survey as well as to sketch those historiographical trends, not to mention the scholarly consensus, which I feel the above citations reflect, and with which I would like to take issue in this chapter. As Paxton points out, the historiography of the Peace of God movement really begins with Semichon, Kluckhohn and Huberti. I will return to the latter two, and Paxton's treatment of them, later, but Semichon's theory of the ecclesiastical origin of the French communes in the Peace of God has found little resonance, at least in French historiography.⁷ Instead, French writing on this topic has taken its cue from Marc Bloch's positioning of the Peace towards the end of his first feudal age. For Bloch, the

⁵ This may explain why the early councils look different from the later ones: any immediate political considerations that may have played a part in the councils were forgotten or ignored in favour of a salvation history.

⁶ Frederick S. Paxton, 'History, Historians, and the Peace of God', in Head and Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God*, pp.21-40. A much longer and very critical survey has also been done by Dominique Barthélemy, in the first half of his *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu: La France chrétienne et féodale 980-1060* (Paris, 1999). I have decided to concentrate on Paxton here because he is sympathetic to the Head and Landes viewpoint and as such critiquing his view of the historiography better shows up the inconsistencies of the argument than a simple recap of Barthélemy's might.

⁷ Although Bloch does consider the Peace oaths in the wider context of sworn associations. Richard Landes has recently claimed that the Peace was the precursor of civil society: '*Signum perpetui pacti ... quod sponderant inter se et Deum*: the Peace of God, a new Israel, and the conversion of the European laity at the turn of the Millennium', paper delivered at the conference, 'The Religious and the Laity. Europe, c.1000-1300', University of Leicester, 31 July – 3 August 2003.

Peace of God was a direct response to royal government's failure to keep the peace and restrain feudal lords: 'precisely because the great temporal powers were ineffectual, there developed, outside the sphere of the regular authorities and at the instance of the Church, a spontaneous effort for the organization of the peace and order which were so much desired.'⁸ It is nonetheless equally interesting to contrast Bloch's ideas with his more recent heirs. For Bloch, the Peace and Truce were anomalous; in a sense they arrived too early. The second feudal age proper did not begin to get underway until the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, so the peace councils had to await the development of principalities and royal government to have any effect. Until then they were merely spontaneous, but ineffectual, manifestations of the 'longing for peace.'⁹ Once Georges Duby recalibrated the historical turning point to the millennium, however, the Peace of God – more than the later Truce – began to look like a more serious candidate for historical significance.¹⁰ For Duby, following on from the work of Erdmann, this lay in its Christianisation of the feudal aristocracy.¹¹ Where Bloch saw an inherent contradiction in the Peace councils trying to suppress the violence of the very people

⁸ Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society II. Social Classes and Political Organization*, L. A. Manyon (tr.) (London, 1965), p.412; first published as *La société féodale: les classes et le gouvernement des hommes* (Paris, 1940).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.420.

¹⁰ The Truce, on the other hand, continues to play a more prominent role in German historiography as the origin of the imperial *Landfrieden*: see Arno Buschmann and Elmar Wadle (eds), *Landfrieden. Anspruch und Wirklichkeit* (Paderborn, 2002). The German study of the Peace of God has always been linked to the attempt to explain the *Landfrieden*: Ludwig Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte der Gottesfrieden und Landfrieden*, vol. 1: *Die Friedensordnungen in Frankreich* (Ansbach, 1892), pp.20. and H. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Schriften der MGH XX, Stuttgart, 1964), pp.4-5. See also H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, XLVI (1970), pp.66-67.

¹¹ Georges Duby, 'Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu' in *idem*, *Qu'est-ce que la société féodale?* (Paris, 2002), pp.1087-98; first publ. in *I laici nella «societas Christiana» dei secoli XI-XII* (Milan, 1966), pp.448-61. See also Jean Flori, 'L'Église et la Guerre Sainte: de la 'Paix de Dieu' à la 'croisade'', *Annales ESC* XLVII (1992), pp.453-66.

they needed to enforce their decisions, Duby saw a step towards the Crusades. Thus the shift from private anarchy to the new Capetian monarchy in Bloch was replaced by an earlier change from the same private anarchy to a new, religiously legitimised private order in Duby.¹² In any case, such an interpretation stands or falls on the acceptance of the mutationist thesis. This in turn relies on one's acceptance of the structuralist approach of the Annales school, which, like all structuralist approaches, has an in-built bias towards constructing rigid state-descriptions rather than narratives of continuous change. To the extent that this is so, the purported mutation is under suspicion of being a historiographical construct brought in to explain the necessarily sudden transition from one static description to the next, rather than an objective fact. Yet whatever we decide in that regard, the insistence on studying the Peace of God as a social phenomenon rather than as part of the 'tedious sequence of trivial conflicts between lords and clerics'¹³ is a question of theoretical bias.

The popular aspects of the Peace of God have been particularly beloved of American historians.¹⁴ Paxton summarises this aspect of the historiography, to which he is sympathetic, well,¹⁵ so I will restrict myself to a few remarks on why a subject most

¹² The legitimisation was ultimately to be found in the Three Orders theory. There are two ironies in this: firstly, both Adalbero and Gerard are supposed to have been opponents of the Peace of God; secondly, Duby has to explain away a hiatus in the popularity of the Three Orders scheme, a hiatus created by his shift of the key period of change to c.1000, see *idem*, *Les Trois Ordres*, in *Féodalité*, p.631.

¹³ Robert Fossier, 'Rural Economy and Country Life', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History III c.900-c.1024* (Cambridge, 1999), 39.

¹⁴ L. C. MacKinney, 'The People and Public Opinion in the Eleventh-Century peace Movement', *Speculum* V (1930), 181-206; Richard Landes, 'Between Aristocracy and Heresy. Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994-1033', in Head and Landes (eds), *The Peace of God*, pp.184-218; van Meter, 'Amiens-Corbie', 646-55. But see R. I. Moore, 'Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. XXX (1980), 49-69.

¹⁵ But note that Paxton, 'History, Historians', pp.26-27, misses the fact that Erdmann relied on Loren MacKinney's 1930 *Speculum* article: Karl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp.66-67, esp. n.41.

assertively investigated by an East German historian, Bernhard Töpfer, should have proved so popular in American academia.¹⁶ There are, I think, two reasons: one methodological and one religious. Firstly, as John Freed has pointed out in relation to the Annales school, a fairly vague Marxist approach such as Töpfer's is readily transferrable across national boundaries, in contrast to the tradition of German *Verfassungsgeschichte* which is of necessity bound to a specific national narrative, if not teleology.¹⁷ Lacking a dog in any particular European fight,¹⁸ American interest is more readily engaged by the allegedly 'fundamental' social explanations offered by Marxist schools like the Annales. This does not of course negate the advances made in the study of the Peace of God by American historians of society and religion, but it should lead us to look again at attempts to downplay legal or political factors.¹⁹

Secondly, a movement of popular religious revival makes sense in terms of American history, in particular the Great Awakenings of roughly the 1730s (in both Britain and America) and 1830s-40s which gave us such modern sects as the Methodists, Mormons and Seventh-Day Adventists as well as a plethora of now defunct ones.²⁰ Thus, an approach that in a European context might originate from confessional interests, seems equally valid against the background of American evangelical

¹⁶ Bernhard Töpfer, *Volk und Kirche zur Zeit der beginnenden Gottesfriedenbewegung in Frankreich* (Berlin (East), 1957); *idem*, 'Die Anfänge der Treuga Dei in Nordfrankreich,' *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* IX (1961), pp.876-93. An abbreviated extract of the former was translated and published as 'The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform', in Head and Landes (eds), *The Peace of God*, pp.41-57.

¹⁷ John Freed, 'Reflections on the Medieval German Nobility', *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 574-75.

¹⁸ The exception to this is the American study of Anglo-Norman institutions initiated by Strayer.

¹⁹ But see Jeffrey A. Bowman, 'Councils, memory and mills: the early development of the Peace of God in Catalonia', *Early Medieval Europe* 8.1 (1999), 99-129.

²⁰ I would like to thank Abe Delnore of the University of Virginia for alerting me to the significance of the Great Awakenings, although it is fair to say his assessment of the Peace of God is diametrically opposed to mine.

Protestantism. This is also not to say that such an approach is for that reason invalid, any more than that of a modern Roman Catholic necessarily would be. On the contrary, there is a strong claim to be made that such a perspective allows insights denied to, say, an heir of Anglican intellectualism or Lutheran sobriety. After all, a Catholic witness of the power of the saints and a Protestant one of the power of the Holy Spirit very likely do undergo similar experiences (leaving aside the question as to which might be divinely and which diabolically inspired). Yet this is not a historical question but one of psychology and cognitive science (or theology). The historical question as to what effects in time a given instance of religious enthusiasm might have had is not served by such an empathetic stance. It is certainly theoretically possible that the religious enthusiasm generated by the Peace councils, or for that matter by the millennium, did have historical implications comparable to those sometimes attributed to the Great Awakenings. The evidence of such shared 'revivalism' nevertheless does nothing to prove that this was the case. Meanwhile the combination of social and religious perspectives may be seductive in offering an apparent solution for historians' perennial structure/agency problematic: a generalised religious enthusiasm seems 'big' enough to change societal structures, a change which itself generates a new *Zeitgeist*. But if, as I suggested above, the feudal mutation is a methodological illusion, and religious experience an inadequate explanatory tool, we must seek other, additional contexts for the Peace councils.

After Semichon, the other two founders of Peace and Truce of God 'studies' are Kluckhohn and Huberti who were motivated to examine the links (and lack of same) of the conciliar legislation with the later German *Landfrieden*. Paxton praises all three scholars for discovering the Peace of God as an object of research, but criticises them for operating with a narrow legalistic view of what it is. Paxton does not however ask

whether it is this narrow definition that created the Peace of God in the first place, nor does he wonder what implications widening the field of investigation would have for our conceptualisation. In particular, while he (rightly) criticises Huberti for a Hegelian view of an autonomous legal history developing to ever more advanced forms, he misses Huberti's explicit comparisons between the Peace of God and the German Social Democratic movement: just as the Peace of God opposed the rule of force, so social democracy opposed capital, the new *Faustrecht*, and just as the Peace of God found champions in the dukes and kings, so social democracy found one in Kaiser Wilhelm II.²¹ Thus Huberti's conception of the Peace and Truce of God is not quite as legalistically detached from reality as Paxton would have it: rather it is also tied up with ideas of social development and progress, backed by secular authority. Paxton's failure to see this is part of a wider misunderstanding of the position of *Rechtsgeschichte* in the German academic tradition. Law is seen as contributing to shaping society; its social relevance is assumed rather than spelt out.²² Whether this assumption is accurate or not is a separate question, but it is wide of the mark to accuse historians who use legal approaches of not taking account of social history: that is precisely what *Rechtshistoriker* claim to do by studying law.²³

The editors of *The Peace of God* volume are nonetheless right to point out that much of the historiographical disagreement can be traced to historians' favoured use of

²¹ Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte*, pp.1-2.

²² I would like to thank Prof. Dr Peter Johanek for discussions on this point.

²³ Interesting in this regard is Hans-Werner Goetz's latest contribution to the debate, 'Die Gottesfriedenbewegung im Licht neuerer Forschungen,' in *Landfrieden. Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*, pp.31-54. Although at one point he strikes an ostensibly apologetic tone vis-à-vis Paxton's accusation of unreconstructed *Rechtsgeschichte* (p.43, esp. n.87), he goes on to agree with Dominique Barthélemy that the Peace of God's social character was ambivalent (p.46) and repeats his claim that it introduced no new law (p.48).

certain texts over others.²⁴ Thus those, such as the editors themselves, who use narrative descriptions will tend to use emphasise the radical nature of the movement; those who concentrate more on the legal texts tend to be more sceptical.²⁵ Nevertheless, I think this twofold division does not do justice to the variety of narrative sources available, and thus needs to be modified. Instead I would like to propose a threefold division, into legislative evidence, and two kinds of narrative: accounts of individual councils (often included in hagiographical texts: *vitae*, *miracula* and *translationes*), and those which cast these councils in terms of the movement as a whole (most importantly, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, the *Chronicon* of Adémar of Chabannes, and Ralph Glaber's *Historiarum libri quinque*, all three sources from the 1020s-1040s).

The reason for making this division is that it faces up to the problematic of treating the various councils as a movement. While there have been historians, most notably Dominique Barthélemy, who deny the existence or import of the Peace of God as a movement, they have mainly done so either on the basis of protagonists' local concerns, or by arguing that we are merely seeing an illusion created by a change in the sources.²⁶ Unfortunately neither approach is satisfactory. That a bishop or aristocrat had

²⁴ Thomas Head and Richard Landes, 'Introduction', in *idem.*, *The Peace of God*, pp.2-3; as Jacques Paul has recently wittily remarked, the 'small number' of relevant texts, 'ont été si travaillés qu'on ne peut plus séparer l'histoire de l'historiographie.' *idem.*, 'Les conciles de paix aquitains antérieurs à l'An Mil', in Claude Carozzi & Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (eds), *Année mille An mil* (Aix-en-Provence, 2002), p.177.

²⁵ Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Observations sur le rôle des évêques dans le mouvement de paix aux X^e et XI^e siècles', in *Medievalia christiana X^e-XI^e siècles. Hommage à Raymonde Foreville* (Brussels, 1989), pp.155-95; Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Kirchenschutz, Rechtswahrung und Reform. Zu den Zielen und zum Wesen der frühen Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich', *Francia* XI (1983), 193-239; Janet L. Nelson, 'Review of Thomas Head and Richard Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992)', *Speculum* LXIX (1994), 163-69.

²⁶ For the Peace of God as made up of local concerns, see Bowman, 'Councils, memory'. For its non-existence, cf Dominique Barthélemy, 'La paix de Dieu au temps du millénaire' in *idem.*, *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris, 1997), pp.297-361; original version published as, 'La paix de Dieu dans son contexte', *Cahiers du civilisation médiévale*

specifically local reasons for encouraging Peace councils does not preclude universal concerns, nor does it demonstrate that the magnate in question did not perceive himself as turning a wider movement to his own ends. Indeed, the argument that the peace councils are not a social movement, but are the result of local conditions at each moment, rests on a false dichotomy between structure and agency. Any explanation of the councils must surely unite both. The objection that all we are seeing is a shift in the sources fails on two counts: firstly, a shift in the sources is a change that itself requires explanation, and secondly (and most importantly for the purposes here), the contemporary sources listed above themselves see the councils as occurring in a manner that fits the modern definition of a movement. The description in the *Gesta*, for example, of how Berold of Soissons and Warin of Beauvais copied the ‘dangerous and impossible plan’²⁷ of a universal oath from the bishops of ‘Burgundy’, fits our definition of a ‘movement’ as a radical idea being concertedly put into practice and spread.²⁸ There is thus clear contemporary evidence for this conceptualisation, although,

XL (1997), pp.3-35, and more recently: *idem*, *L’an mil et la paix de Dieu: La France chrétienne et féodale 980-1060* ([France], 1999).

²⁷ ‘perniciosum consilium ac impossibile’, *GeC*, III:27, p.474.

²⁸ The *OED* dates the first example of the use of the word ‘movement’ in the sense of a political development to 1828, and in its sense of being a political movement of reform to 1835, inspired by the French liberal *parti du mouvement* (as opposed to tradition/stasis). Ernest Semichon, *La paix et la trêve de dieu. Histoire des développements du tiers-état par l’église et les associations de la fin du X^e siècle à la fin du XIII^e*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1869) refers to ‘the emancipation of the bourgeois class’ as a ‘mouvement’ to which the ‘institution’ (singular) of the Peace and Truce of God contributed: vol.1, pp.vi & viii. August Kluckhohn, *Geschichte des Gottesfriedens* (Leipzig, 1857), refers to the Peace of God as an ‘Institut’ [*sic*], which he seeks to explain ‘aus den politisch-sozialen Verhältnissen und den sittlich-religiösen Zuständen jener Zeit’: p.iv. Huberti, *Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte*, certainly uses the word ‘Bewegung’ in its modern form when he comments on the validity of ‘ein Vergleich zwischen der mittelalterlichen Friedensbewegung und der gegenwärtigen sozialen Bewegung [i.e. Social Democracy]’; p.2, cf also p.13: ‘jene ganze Bewegung’ = ‘Jene zahlreichen [*sic*] und in unendliche Schattierungen [*sic*] sich zersplitternden Friedensordnungen’. He does not consider whether the splintering of the peace regulations into infinite

as pointed out above, the evidence is contemporary only with the later, allegedly layman-led, phase of the Peace of God. It would nonetheless be equally foolish to assume that this is the end of the matter. While the influence of literary studies on the practice of history has opened to us the possibility of using even false reports, such as Adémar of Chabannes's, to gain insight into contemporary mentality, this does not absolve the historian of the responsibility of relating the reports to reconstructed reality or to ask about what wider significance, if any, they might have had: in short, of judging how representative they were. More generally, just because contemporary sources depict phenomena in a way that qualifies for a modern categorisation, this certainly does not mean that we can forget the modernity of any such categorisation, or simply extrapolate other possible attributes from it. Thus, as I will argue, while sources including the *Gesta* may depict the Peace of God as a political or religious movement, this does not mean they are right,²⁹ that others saw it that way, or that we can assume it possessed the qualities what we would call a *social* movement.

Adémar of Chabannes and Raoul Glaber certainly describe the Peace as a religious movement, although one inspired at various times by natural phenomena of dearth or plenty. Thus Adémar attributes the first council of Limoges (994) to an

shades might nullify their claim to be a 'whole/entire' movement. Indeed it might be suggested that his use of the word 'ganz' reflects his problems in including all the regulations under one banner.

²⁹ The author of the *Gesta* has generally been held in high esteem by modern commentators, but this seems to be due to his self-depiction in the Preface as only telling what is certain and refusing to speculate on what is not. Yet this is a topos of the *Gesta* genre, and cannot be taken at face value. Only Carlrichard Brühl, a militant positivist of the old school if ever there was one, dismisses the *Gesta*, arguing that at one point the text, 'von falschen Angaben nur so wimmelt', *idem, Deutschland – Frankreich*, p.585, n.240. This is in reference to *GeC*, I:105, pp.444-45 about Lothar's planned 986 campaign against Lotharingia: Brühl denounces the idea that Bishop Rothard of Cambrai travelled to Lothar's court to dissuade him as an 'alberne Mär'. It is unclear why this should be so, and note that Brühl seems to have equated *Königsnähe* with both representativeness and factual accuracy, and the latter with importance for the historian (*idem*, pp.145-46, esp. p.146, nn.367-68).

outbreak of what we would call ergotism. The sickness is supposedly ended by the saints (especially Martial), and this blessing in turn leads to the conclusion of peace.³⁰ Raoul Glaber explicitly links the peace councils of the 1030s to the return of God's grace in 1033 after years of pestilence and deprivation.³¹ So rather than being conceived in modern terms as a linear, progressive movement, these councils form part of a cycle of sin, punishment, penitence and relapse. Before any assessment of a text's historical worth can be made, account must be taken of their literary context.

The references to popular enthusiasm are in fact common to many accounts of miracles, synods and religious meetings, not just those associated with the Peace of God. Indeed, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* themselves relate the 1030 consecration of the new cathedral of Cambrai in precisely such terms, with choirs of monks and canons, crowds of men and women inside the city and out and both clergy and people weeping with joy.³² In addition, the idea that everyone who came to these

³⁰ Adémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, P. Bourgain, R. Landes and G. Pon (eds), *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis CXXIX: Ademari Cabannensis Opera Omnia Pars I* (Turnhout, 1999), III:35, p.157 and *Translatio beati s. Martialis de Monte Gaudio*, in Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1892), vol.1, p.392. See also Adémar, *Chronicon*, III:69, p.189.

³¹ Raoul Glaber, *Historiarum*, John France (ed. and tr.), (Oxford, 1989), 4.v.14-17, pp.194-99. Note that this follows a long description of hardship, 4.iv.10-13, pp.186-93, and the dating to the millennium of the resurrection does not in this context imply millenarianism. Glaber's description of the Truce of God of the 1040s emphasises human agency to a much greater degree: 5.i.15-16, pp.216-19. The entire fifth book, written in the 1040s, is much less integrated into a coherent narrative, and the operations of divine grace therefore less worked out.

³² 'Quis enim tantae gloriae pompam digne sufficit enarrare, aut quis dicacissimus verborum ambitu tantam dignitatem poterit cohibere? ubi videlicet sanctorum corpora nostrae dioceseos cum plebe et clero in unum congregata, ubi choros tam monachorum quam et canonicorum catervatim commixtos, ubi etiam non tantum urbem interius, verum et campos exterius passim utriusque sexus multitudine pernatare videres. Quomodo autem sanctorum corpora circa altare domnus episcopus ordinasset, summae pietatis est memorare ac piis auditoribus salutare. Ipse namque pariterque abbas Richardus, ambo videlicet seementati, beatissimum Gaugericum, utpote pontificem summum et sanctae dedicationis magistrum precipuum, cum summa devotione tollentes, laudibus decantatis, clero quidem ac populo prae gaudio dum

events was there for the same reason – that, in short, the clergy’s descriptions of popular enthusiasm match what actually happened – is a simplistic one. Surely it is more realistic to think that any gathering of relics, whether to establish Peace or not, was bound to attract the sad, the sick, the disabled and their relatives, not to mention the opportunistic seeking to part the sad, the sick, the disabled and their relatives from their money, by fair means or foul. In fact even the ecclesiastical sources occasionally refer to the complexity of the situation. Introducing a miracle that took place at Corbie on the festival of Peter’s martyrdom, the author of the *Miracula s. Adelardi* says that ‘some [came] to pray, some to do business, some to rebuild [the church, which had been destroyed by fire in 1026].’³³ Gonzo, abbot of Gerard’s family foundation and resting-place, Florennes, wrote in his *Miracula s. Gengulfi Florenis facta*, of how a father was glad of his son’s disability since it allowed him to travel to various festivals and profit from people’s alms.³⁴ Gerard used the opportunity of the consecration of the new cathedral to establish fairs, as well as to donate new decorations to the church.³⁵ The 1025 ‘peace’ council of Anse was the scene of a debate about episcopal jurisdiction over Cluny, a debate described in strikingly similar terms to that in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* on the same subject regarding the monastery of

haec spectarent illacrimantibus, in cathedra pontificali, sicut ante fuerat, collocarunt.’ *GeC*, III:49, pp.483-84. See Heinrich Fichtenau’s particularly apt analysis of this passage as describing a kind of ‘ecclesiastical assembly’ of Cambrai’s saints, *Living in the Tenth [sic] Century* (Chicago, 1991), pp.17-18 (originally published, with more extensive notation, as *Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts. Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich* (Stuttgart, 1984)).

³³ ‘Omnis via in circuitu videbatur venire Corbeiam, (tanti fecerat Petrus Corbeiae suae gloriam) aliqui oratum, aliqui mercatum, aliqui relevatum, quia combusta erat illa, quam super talem petram Christus fundavit ecclesiam.’, *Miracula s. Adelardi*, *AASS* January I, pp.120.

³⁴ Gonzo of Florennes, *Miracula s. Gengulfi*, p.654A-B. Obviously the accuracy of the accusation is irrelevant, the point being that it was a plausible one to make.

³⁵ ‘Sed quid de nundinis sollemniter institutis? quid etiam de ceteris sollemnibus ornamentis?’ *GeC*, III:49, p.484.

Burtscheid during a council with no Peace overtones whatsoever.³⁶ Thus the characteristics which supposedly mark the Peace councils as part of a popular movement are in reality not characteristic at all, or even representative of conciliar activities.

Given the prevalence of comparative material which demonstrates that religious enthusiasm was a literary topos, however much or little this topos reflected reality, it must be asked why historiography has emphasised it so much. The answer I think lies in the apparent connection the actions of the masses have with what is thought to be innovatory in the Peace councils – namely the legislation.³⁷ In this formulation, the Peace of God saw ecclesiastics harness popular enthusiasm to challenge the old Carolingian order of Europe based on the Gelasian doctrine of the two swords.³⁸ Yet we know that this is simply not the case. Jane Martindale has shown that right from the very beginning of the Peace of God in Aquitaine the Duke was involved in arranging the councils;³⁹ Karl Ferdinand Werner, Hans-Werner Goetz and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier have shown that the regulations laid down owe much to their Carolingian predecessors, and that the last thing on the bishops' minds was to protect the peasantry as a class.⁴⁰

³⁶ Compare Giovanni Domenico Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* XIX, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1902), pp.423-24 and *GeC*, III:35, pp.479-80.

³⁷ For the problematic of the movement having been originally defined by legal historians, see above, pp.146-47.

³⁸ See Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse*, for a variation on this that includes secular magnates.

³⁹ Jane Martindale, 'Peace and War in Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1990* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp.147-76. Thomas Head has since attempted something of a rebuttal; see his 'The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1005)', *Speculum* LXXIV (1999), 656-86. Yet Martindale's warnings against teleology remain valid, and are at the centre of this treatment.

⁴⁰ Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Observations sur le rôle des évêques'; H.-W. Goetz, 'Kirchenschutz, Rechtswahrung und Reform', pp.193-239. For Goetz's reply in an English version to this article to

However inaccurate the radical conception of these councils might be, it has a basis in the sources, or, more specifically, in one source, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*. The first reference the *Gesta* make to the peace oaths comes in connection with an attempt by Berold of Soissons and Warin of Beauvais to bind men by oath to observe peace and justice, an idea they were supposedly imitating from the bishops of 'Burgundy'. The alleged reason for this was, according to the *Gesta*, that the weakness of the king was so great that the kingdom tottered to its very base. The oath, according to the Cambrai chronicler, meant usurping royal right.⁴¹ Describing the later

Paxton's allegation that Goetz denies a 'strong' popular connection, see above, p.147, n.23. Goetz returned to the subject in his 'La paix de Dieu en France autour l'an Mil: fondements et objectifs, diffusion et participants', in Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral I Altet (eds), *Le roi de France et son royaume autour l'an Mil* (Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987, La France de l'an Mil, Paris-Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987, Paris, 1992), pp.131-45 and most recently in 'Die Gottesfriedenbewegung im Licht neuerer Forschungen', where he favours Barthélemy's scepticism, cf pp.45-46, as does Dunbabin, *The Making of France*, p.xxiii. See also Nelson, 'Review'. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, 'The Enemies of the Peace: Reflections on a Vocabulary, 500-1100' in Head and Landes, pp.58-79 is essentially a summary of her position first laid out in *idem*, 'Les mauvaises coutumes en Auvergne, Bourgogne méridionale, Languedoc et Provence au XI^e siècle un: moyen d'analyse sociale', in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (X^e - XIII^e siècles). Bilan et perspectives de Recherches* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 44, Rome, 1980), pp.135-72 and 'Les évêques et la paix dans l'espace franc (VI^e-XI^e siècles)', in Jean de Viguerie, *L'Évêque dans l'Histoire de l'Église. Actes de la Septième rencontre d'Histoire Religieuse tenue à Fontevraud les 14 et 15 octobre 1983* (Angers, 1984), pp.33-50. Although Magnou-Nortier makes too much of the Norman invasions, her argument that the reform rhetoric is rooted in post-Carolingian military reorganisation has not been taken seriously enough. For a more convincing context, cf Timothy Reuter, 'Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. XXXV (1985), 75-94 and *idem*, 'The End of Carolingian Military Expansion' in Godman and Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious* (Oxford, 1990), 391-405.

⁴¹ 'Ipso in tempore videntes episcopi Beroldus Suessionensium, et Walerannus Belvacensium, prae inbecillitate regis peccatis quidem exigentibus statum regni funditus inclinari, jura confundi, usumque patrium et omne genus justitiae profanari: multum rei publicae succurrere arbitrati sunt, si Burgundiae episcoporum sententiam sequerentur. Hii nimirum totius auctoritatis expertes, commune decretum fecerunt, ut tam sese quam omnes homines sub sacramento constringerent, pacem videlicet et justitiam servaturos. Hujusmodi igitur commento predicti episcopi excitati, superioris quidem Galliae coepiscopis conspirantibus, etiam domnum Gerardum episcopum, ut secum sentiret pariter monuerunt. Qui altius

peace of Amiens-Corbie as an ‘innovation’, the *Gesta* author has Gerard spell out the three orders vision of society according to which the lay aristocracy has a necessary task within Christian society.⁴² He is forced to back down in his resistance to a Peace oath, or at least promise, by the combined efforts of the castellan of Cambrai, Walter II, and Count Baldwin IV of Flanders. Twice he finds himself having to persuade a crowd of listeners whom Walter has incited against him.⁴³ Thus the *Gesta*’s accounts, if taken out of context and combined to portray a consistent phenomenon, do indeed paint a picture of out-of-control bishops and castellans using mob pressure to usurp the prerogatives of the royal representative. Given this fits with none of our evidence for the other Peace councils, the answer to why we are presented with this image must be sought in the *Gesta* themselves.

First we must look at the other sources for the peace councils the *Gesta* discuss, to see whether these match in any way the *Gesta* picture. We have the text of a peace oath proposed by Warin of Beauvais, but against the sense of the *Gesta* account it in fact purports to have been formulated in King Robert the Pious’s presence.⁴⁴ There is no

causas advertens, procul rennuere estimavit, cunctisque perniciosum consilium ac impossibile intelligens, nullum assensum porrexit. Hoc enim non tam impossibile quam incongruum videri respondit, si quod regalis juris est, sibi vendicari presumerent. Hoc etiam modo sanctae aecclesiae statum confundi, quae geminis personis, regali videlicet ac sacerdotali, administrari precipitur. Huic enim orare, illi vero pugnare tribuitur. Igitur regum esse seditiones virtute compescere, bella sedare, pacis commercia dilatare; episcoporum vero, reges ut viriliter pro salute patriae pugnent monere, ut vincant orare. Hoc ergo decretum periculosum esse omnibus: omnes videlicet aut jurare aut anathemati subiacere. Omnes enim communi peccato involvi, si commento hujusmodi uterentur. Itaque episcopum dissentientem ceteri coepiscopi occultis reprehensionibus improbant, dicentes eum non esse pacis amicum, qui pacem volentibus dissentiret. Postea vero suorum crebro hortamine circumventus, sed maxime abbatum, Leduini [of St-Vaast] videlicet et Rotrici [of St-Bertin], precatu coactus, adquevit invitus. Sed quod ante reclamabat, postea probavit eventus. Vix enim paucissimi crimen perjurii evaserunt.’ *GeC*, III:27, p.474.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III:52, pp.485-86.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III:53-54, pp.486-87.

⁴⁴ The text of Warin of Beauvais’s peace oath is published in C. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux (996-1031)* (Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études 64, Paris, 1885), pp.lx-lxi. After the oath

reason to suppose that Gerard was ignorant of this: he was at the royal assembly in Compiègne on 1st May 1023/4 which is generally accepted as the occasion for Warin's suggestion of the oath.⁴⁵ While there is no explicit mention of the oath in our records for the assembly, the magnates present there, featuring, *inter alia*, Baldwin IV of Flanders, Richard II of Normandy, his brother Archbishop Robert of Rouen, Warin of Beauvais and Leduin of St-Vaast, as well as the incident's placement within the *Gesta*, suggest that this was indeed the occasion for Warin and Berold's initiative.⁴⁶

We also have the text of the oath which was almost certainly Warin's inspiration, from the council of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs.⁴⁷ Like its northern offspring, this

proper, the text continues: 'Haec superius scripta in his verbis sequentibus jurata sunt. Hoc audias, tu, rex Roberte, sicut in hoc brevi superius scriptum et sicut ego Warinus episcopus hac hora novissima derationavi et sicut isti circumstantes nunc audierunt et intellexerunt. Sic attendam de mea parte contra illos qui hoc sacramentum hoc praesenti tempore juraverunt et jurabunt, ab hinc usque festivitatem sancti Johannis quae est futura in mense junio et de illa festivitate in sex annos, nisi de werra regis me sciente. Sic me Deus adjuvet et haec sacra...'. Pfister then notes, 'encore trois ou quatre mots illisibles.'

⁴⁵ Gerard was there with Richard of St-Vanne, and the embassy was almost certainly connected with the meeting of Robert and Henry II at Ivois/Mouzon in August 1023, described in the *GeC*, III:37, p.480, either as one element of the preparations for it, or for the summit at Pavia with the Pope that was supposed to result from it. Although the assembly is often said to have taken place on 1/5/1023, Maurice Prou has shown that it may have done so in 1024, cf *idem*, 'Une charte de Garin', pp.383-98. If we are to date Warin's oath to this meeting, then its placing in the *GeC*, before the description of the dispute between Pilgrim of Cologne and Durand of Liège over the monastery of Burtscheid in July 1023, would indicate the traditional dating of the assembly as the most likely. Henry II's presence at Cologne on 16/5/1023 could support this conclusion (*Regesta imperii* II, 4:1, 2038-39) note again that he was ill for much of April/May 1024 (*Annales Quedlinburgenses*, *MGH SS* III, an.1024, p.89). Finally, the *Gesta* strongly implies that Gerard was already acting in an official capacity at Ivois, and after Henry gave him leave to return to his own affairs, he was busy dealing with the castellan of Cambrai Walter II, and with rebuilding the cathedral: *GeC*, III:38-39, 49, pp.481, 483.

⁴⁶ Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p.56. For the meeting itself, see R. Bonnaud-Delamare, 'Les insitutions de paix dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims au XI^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1955-6 (Paris, 1957), p.145. Significantly, Odo II of Blois was absent, see below pp.161-62.

⁴⁷ Not only do the texts closely match, but Berold of Soissons, Warin's alleged co-conspirator in 1023, was at Verdun-sur-le-Doubs. The text of the oath was published by Leclercq in Karl Josef von Hefele,

oath explicitly reserves the right to exact military rights when participating in royal, or episcopal, hosts.⁴⁸ The political context of the Verdun-sur-le-Doubs council and its successors is described in the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* in very different terms from the account of the Cambrai author: it is the submission of the rebellious aristocracy of the duchy of Burgundy⁴⁹ to Robert and his ally Hugh, Count of Châlons and Bishop of Auxerre.⁵⁰ Yet unfortunately the Auxerre *Gesta* are just as, if not more, unreliable than their Cambrai counterpart, not least in chronology. The council of

Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux, 2nd ed., tr. Henry Leclercq, vol.4.2 (Paris, 1911), pp.1409-10. For a discussion of Warin's oath and its relationship to that of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, see Bonnaud-Delamare, *ibid.*, pp.148-56.

⁴⁸ Both Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, 'Les mauvaises coutumes', 144 and Hans-Werner Goetz, 'La paix de Dieu', pp.132-33 make this a centrepiece of their respective arguments.

⁴⁹ Henceforth I will follow Hans-Dietrich Kahl, 'Die Angliederung Burgunds an das mittelalterliche Imperium. Zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund des Schatzfundes von Corcelles-près-Payerne', *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* XLVIII (1969), 13-105 in referring to the duchy of Burgundy as *Bourgogne*, the lands of Otto-William, admittedly anachronistically, as the Franche-Comté, and the kingdom of Burgundy as *Burgund*.

⁵⁰ 'Preterea rex Robertus, collecto in unum exercitu valido, tam de gente Francorum quam Normannorum, habens secum Richardum pontentissimum ducem ipsorum, occupans devastavit permaximam Burgundiae partem: cumque primitus ad civitatem Autissiodorum devenisset, volens eam capere, quod fertur urbi illi nunquam contigisse, cives ejusdem urbis fortiter ei restiterunt: dehinc, cum ad beati Germani castrum expugnandum tota regis falans, isdemque rex loricated intenderet, nutu divino territus, cum multa cede suorum inde rediens penetravit Ararim usque superiora Burgundie, predicto Hugone cum eo gradiente: revertens quoque rex Franciam, tunc nec quicquam egit preter cladem regionis. Post aliquot vero annos dierum, iam dicti primores Burgundie in deditionem regis pacifice devenerunt: per Hugonis tamen consilium, quicquid isdem rex facere decreverat, disposuit: eique, quod accipere placuit, libentissime condonavit. Constituit ergo pro redintegranda seu firmanda pace concilium episcoporum ac multorum tam nobilium quam plebeiorum innumere multitudinis, in comitatu quem gubernat Cabilonense, in loco qui Viridunus dicitur, ubi etiam sanctorum reliquie diversis regionibus delate diversas sanitates egrotis contulerunt; itemque aliud concilium pro eadem re in pago Autissiodorensi apud Airiacum villam beati Germani, in quo rex Robertus cum episcopis et abbatibus adfuit, simul et innumerabilia sanctorum pignora totius pene provincie. Similiter et per diversa loca, vel in pagis Divionense et Belnense, atque Lugdunense concilia saepius celebrari fecit.' *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, p.388-89.

Verdun-sur-le-Doubs took place sometime between 1019 and 1022.⁵¹ The Auxerre account places it ‘some years’ after Robert besieged Auxerre (Hugh having been expelled by Landric of Nevers in the immediate aftermath of Duke Henry’s death in 1002). In fact, the siege of Auxerre seems to have taken place c.1005.⁵² Note also that the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* account attributes the Verdun-sur-le-Doubs council, and a number of later ones, to Hugh.⁵³ As Hoffmann points out, this is clearly a distortion of events which ignores the role of other bishops in favour of the Auxerre *Gesta*’s hero.⁵⁴ Both the attempt to connect the council with a royal campaign waged a full 15 years earlier, and its attribution to the bishop, are clearly designed as a

⁵¹ In any case before 24th June. Dates of May or June 1018, or even January 1023, are theoretically possible, but unlikely: Töpfer, ‘Die Anfänge’, p.878, Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p.51 (who wrongly dates the death of Thierry of Orléans to 1022 rather than 1023: see Behrends, p.lxxviii). It is unclear why Paxton ‘History, Historians,’ p.37, n.79, thinks the traditional 1016 date is still acceptable. Both Duby and Magnou-Nortier, whom he cites for this dating, rely on Bonnaud-Delamare, who in turn does not question Leclercq. Indeed, in an early article Magnou-Nortier noted that Leclercq’s dating probably needed revision; see Elisabeth Nortier, ‘La foi et les convenientiae. Enquête lexicographique et interpretation sociale.’ in Danielle Buschinger (ed.), *Littérature et société au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque des 5 et 6 mai 1978. Université de Picardie. Centre d’Études médiévales*. (Paris, [1978]), p.262, n.20. The 1016 dating seems to rest on the assumption that Robert’s imposition of authority on *Bourgogne* immediately followed the capture of Dijon in 1015 and the death of Bishop Bruno of Langres on 31st January 1016; see Pfister, *Études*, pp.261-64, and M. Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 3vols (Dijon, 1925), vol.1, pp.476-84. There is also the issue of the thirteenth-century evidence of Aubry of Troisfontaines, who claims Robert made his second son Henry duke of *Bourgogne* in 1015 (although historians have preferred to date this to 1017, to coincide with his elder brother Hugh’s coronation). Yet this entire construct relies on believing the claim of the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* that the council was meant to establish Robert’s rule over the rebellious local aristocracy.

⁵² David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), p.66. The council of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs cannot possibly have taken place before 1018; see above, n.51.

⁵³ Although the subject of the previous clause is the king, the subject of ‘Constituit’ is the bishop, as the phrase ‘in comitatu quem gubernat Cabilonense’ demonstrates (Hugh was also count of Châlons-sur-Saône). In contradistinction to every account of Héry, including their own, the Auxerre *Gesta* do not mention Robert’s presence at Verdun-sur-le-Doubs (nor does the text of the oath).

⁵⁴ Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p.51.

justification of Hugh's pro-royal policies.⁵⁵ Nonetheless the Auxerre account shows that at the very least there was nothing self-evident in the Cambrai version's interpretation of the peace oath.

More significant for the history of royal activity is the council with which that of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs is here linked: the council of Héry. This council is described elsewhere, notably in the *Miracula s. Veroli*,⁵⁶ the *Chronicon* of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens,⁵⁷ and the *Miracula s. Bercharii*,⁵⁸ all of which make a point of Robert's

⁵⁵ Frustratingly, the dating of the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* is problematic. We are told that each section, devoted, unlike in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, to an individual bishop, was written as soon as each bishop died: 'Altissiodorensis ecclesiae non ignobilis consuetudo est, quam cito de seculo migrat ejus episcopus, ilico terminum vitae, sedis introitum, ac precipue bene gesta ipsius conscribere.', p.397. Yet we are also told that Bishop Geoffrey (1052-76) 'hoc volumen *De Gestis Pontificum* renovavit.', p.394. Given that Geoffrey was a member of Landric's family, and the counts of Nevers had long since joined the royalist camp, we should expect Hugh's *gesta* to have been especially heavily 'renewed'.

⁵⁶ 'Quodam tempore nostrae patriae equestri manu praedarum rapacitate cuncta pene depopulante religiosus princeps Robertus nitens pacem, sicquo modo posset, inter dissidentes componere, iussit cunctos valentes episcopos occurrere et abbates apud Airyacum, villam in Autissiodorensi dioecesi sitam et cum sanctorum pignoribus adesse; quatenus si malitiae amatores minus libenter, pro terreni principatus distractione pacificari vellent; saltem pro Dei et sanctorum eius, quos praesentes seque quodammodo exspectantes viderent, timore, pacis concordiam et promptius firmandam exciperent; et sanctorum, in quorum praesentia firmassent semper memores, irruptam arctius conservarent.' *Miracula s. Veroli*, AASS June III, II:6, p.385.

⁵⁷ 'In tempore illo factus magnus conventus in Autissiodorensi pago, in Airiaca villa, a Leoterico archiepiscopo. Ubi de singulis locis delata sunt sanctorum martirum, confessorum et virginum preciosa pignora in suis scriniis; inter que de cenobio Beati Petri Vivi dum deferretur vel referretur beatus martir Sanctianus, imminentibus noctium tenebris, super duo capita scrinii emicuerunt duo preclarissima sidera, omnes totius noctis tenebras suo splendore superancia, oculis quidem deducientium visibilia set tactu inpalpabilia. Ibi vero presentes fuerunt Rotbertus rex et Goslinus Bituricensis archiepiscopus cum aliis episcopis et abbatibus et populo innumerabili. Ibi etiam multa disposita sunt ad utilitatem ecclesiarum.' *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius*, ed. and trans. Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Giles (Paris 1979), pp.114-117.

⁵⁸ 'Gloriosus rex Robertus, apud villam Aireyas nomine noscitur concilium habuisse; ubi cum innumerae plebis multitudines diversi utriusque sexus et aetatis concurrerent, ad cumulandam quoque populi proficiscentis devotionem, plurima sanctorum corpora a fidelibus viris advehi coeperunt: inter quorum

participation.⁵⁹ We have a royal diploma purportedly from the council itself, confirming a donation to Fruttuaria by Hugh Bishop of Auxerre and Count of Châlons, but unfortunately its date – 1021, with no indiction, and in the 31st year of Robert's reign (i.e. 1018) – makes no sense.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the council is generally dated to early 1024, before 5th April.⁶¹ The reason is that this is also the *terminus ante quem* for a confirmation by King Robert, staying at Avallon in *Bourgogne*, of Count Otto-William of the Franche-Comté's donations to Fruttuaria, 'interveniēte et subscribente Gosfrido Cabilonensi episcopo [i.e. Bishop Godfrey of Châlons-sur-Saône] cum reliquis episcopis qui interfuerunt concilio nuper Ariaco habito.'⁶² Yet this could easily put the council in 1023, and thus soon after the Ivois/Mouzon meeting the Cambrai *Gesta* are so anxious to highlight.⁶³

veneranda pignora, seniores nostri de sacro patroni nostri corpore non ignotas detulere reliquias convenienter in feretro, ad earum translationem praeperato. Factum est autem, ut super quodam comite, Landrico nomine, nostri seniores facerent ob praedia beati protectoris nostri, quae comes praedictus invaserat proclamationem: unde indignatus, pretiosissimi patris reliquiae diripere cogitabat, autumans in feretro esse sanctissimum corpus sicut nostrates exterius testificabantur. Non ergo regis potentiam veritus, quoniam ipse rex mitissimus prae cunctis existeret, et magis mansuetudine quam feritate suos vincere cernebat: idcirco direptionem sancti corporis perpetrare satagebat, quatenus non reddendi occasionem haberet injuste pervasa, cum possideret haeredem simul et haereditatem....' *Miracula s. Bercharii*, AASS Oct. VII.2, V:33, p.1029C-D.

⁵⁹ The *Chronicon Autissiodorensē* is sometimes quoted as a source, but this is very late (early thirteenth-century) and at least partially dependent on the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*: see RHF X, 275c-d, and note b.

⁶⁰ William Mendel Newman (ed.), *Catalogue des Actes de Robert II Roi de France* (Paris, 1937), no.57, pp.74-75, esp. p.74, n.1 for the dating clause.

⁶¹ For example by Pfister, *Études*, p.172, n.2 and M. Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne*, v.950-v.1150 (*Mémoires des annales de l'Est* 54, Nancy, 1977), p.163. In fact Bur dates it to before 25th March, but this seems to be a misreading of Newman.

⁶² Newman, *Catalogue des Actes*, no.60, pp.77-78, esp. p.77, n.1 for the date. The text is to be found in Migne, *PL*, vol.141, col.965.

⁶³ As does Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum* XIX, cols 387-90. An earlier date would fit with the, admittedly later, evidence of the *Chronicon* of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens, which sandwiches the event between the Orléans heresy trial in December 1022 on the one hand and the death of Erveus, treasurer of St-Martin's,

However we date the assemblies of Héry and Compiègne, the period 1023 to early 1024 is a time of significant conciliar activity on the part of the West Frankish king, a period that immediately follows the Orléans heresy trial of December 1022. Robert-Henri Bautier has revealed the political background of the scandal.⁶⁴ It related to the replacement of Robert's appointment and Queen Constance's chaplain, Thierry, in the see of Orléans, with a relative of Odo II of Blois, Odalrich, and to the rivalry between Robert and Odo more widely.⁶⁵ Although again the chronology is uncertain, the inheritance of Odo's cousin, Count Stephen of Meaux (†1019x1023), had brought the king and his subject into open aggression at around this time.⁶⁶ Not just Berold of Soissons but also Odalrich had been present at the council of Verdun-sur-le-Doubs, and it may be that Robert's activity in 1023 sees him seizing the initiative in promoting orthodoxy after an embarrassing loss at the hands of Odo of Blois.⁶⁷ Certainly Robert tried to use the Mouzon/Ivois meeting to win Henry II's support against Odo, since the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* mention that representatives of the West Frankish king went with the Emperor to Verdun to meet and accuse Odo.⁶⁸ Notably, although the

Tours, also in 1022 and the accession of John XIX in April 1024; see *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p.116.

⁶⁴ Bautier, 'L'hérésie d'Orléans', pp.63-88; see also R. I. Moore, 'Appendix: Heresy and Politics in Early Eleventh-Century France', in *idem*, *The Origins of European Dissent*, pp.285-89.

⁶⁵ Bautier, *ibid.*, pp.77-80, but Moore is probably right to see in the trial more of an attack on Constance than Robert himself, *ibid.*, p.287.

⁶⁶ For a maximalist reconstruction of events, see Pfister, *Études*, pp.239-43; for a more cautious approach, based on his redating of Fulbert's letters, see *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, Frederick Behrends (ed. and tr.), (Oxford, 1976), pp.lxxix-lxxx.

⁶⁷ This is the interpretation of J.-F. Lemarignier, 'Paix et réforme monastique en Flandre et en Normandie autour de l'année 1023. Quelques observations.' in *Droit privé et institutions régionales. Études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), pp.448-54, but Lemarignier misses the implications for the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* account.

⁶⁸ 'Inde etiam imperator procedens, Viridunum perrexit, nativitatem sanctae Mariae celebraturus, legatis quidem regiis secum deductis, qui ibi responsionem comitis Odonis audirent, quomodo se ab objectis Rotberti regis, a quo arguebatur, defenderet.' *GeC*, III:38, p.480. Thus I understand 'royal legates' to

Gesta mention a simultaneous successful mediation between Odo and Dietrich of Upper Lotharingia, no such success is recorded with Robert.

Even more interesting for us are the circumstances in which Robert and Odo soon set aside their animosity. The two were certainly at peace again by September 1025, since a series of letters from Fulbert of Chartres to Robert the Pious and Queen Constance which assumes friendly relations between them and Odo, also includes one which intervenes on behalf of King Hugh (†17/9/1025). Odo had apparently been seeking rapprochement with Robert for up to a year previously, since he asked the king, via Fulbert, not to injure him for his part in the negotiations of William of Aquitaine with the Italians after the death of Henry II.⁶⁹ In March 1025, Robert issued a diploma at Tours, one of Odo's residences, on the intervention of William of Aquitaine.⁷⁰ Although there is no mention of Odo, it is likely that this demonstrates at least a cessation of hostilities.⁷¹ Thus their relationship changed over the course of 1024, the year of Henry II's death.

refer to representatives of Robert, and not to Gerard and Richard of St-Vanne in their roles as imperial ambassadors.

⁶⁹ Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems*, no.97, pp.176-77.

⁷⁰ Newman, *Catalogue des Actes*, no.64, pp.80-81. The charter is a confirmation of a foundation made by Hugh of Lusignan on 6th March 1025 so must date to after then; see P. Monsabert (ed.), *Chartes de l'abbaye de Nouaillé de 678 à 1200* (Poitiers, 1936), no.104, pp.172-74, and for Robert's confirmation: no.106, pp.176-77 (no.107 is a forgery, cf Newman, *Catalogue des Actes*, no.133, p.170).

⁷¹ An apparently iron-clad dating of the alliance between Robert and Odo can be found in the Annals of Vendôme, which states: 'Rotbertus rex, immo regina ejus Constantia pacem fecerunt cum comite Odone...'. The traditional dating to 1025 can still be found in some quarters, most recently by Herwig Wolfram, *Konrad II. 990-1036: Kaiser dreier Reiche* (Munich, 2000), p.92, following on from old commentaries by scholars such as Hermann Pabst ('Frankreich und Konrad der Zweite in den Jahren 1024 und 1025', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* V (1865), p.357) and Harry Bresslau (*Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter Konrad II*, vol. 1 (1024-1031) (Leipzig, 1879), p.77, n.4). Unfortunately the relevant entry has been redated to 1026: *Annales Vindocinenses*, Louis Halphen (ed.), *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises* (Paris, 1903), p.60, n.2. Yet it is rarely pointed out that the annals do not place this *pax* in the context of conflicts between Robert and Odo, let alone between France

An old school of nationalist historiography had it that on the death of Henry II there was a French conspiracy to seize Italy, Lotharingia and *Burgund* from the newly-crowned Conrad.⁷² While this certainly forces dynastic politics into a nineteenth-century nation-state mould, Conrad certainly faced threats to his power in these areas, involving magnates from the West. The evidence is unfortunately patchy: little is known for sure about the transition from Henry II to Conrad II, but this does not mean there was no danger. As Timothy Reuter pointed out, this may be largely due to the absence of any commentator such as Thietmar to describe the unrest.⁷³ Later sources, in particular Wipo's *Gesta Chuonradi II imperatoris*, of course emphasise the naturalness of the succession.⁷⁴ We know however of three challenges to the new ruler: from Italy, from Lotharingia and from *Burgund*.

On the death of Henry II, a group of Italian magnates attempted to prevent Conrad from becoming king of the Lombards by offering the crown elsewhere.⁷⁵ After Robert himself seems to have rejected it, Duke William V of Aquitaine was offered the

and Germany (*pace* Pabst, Bresslau and even Wolfram), but instead in that of allowing Odo to attack Fulk Nerra unhindered: '...et Fulconem, Andecavorum elegantissimum in bellicis rebus comitem, solum nequiter reliquerunt in guerra, quam cum illis et pro ipsis sumptam gerebat. Igitur Odo in Francia regis impedimentis solutus Fulconem expugnare speravit...'. In other words, the author of the Vendôme annals only notes the *pax* when it becomes of interest to his own narrative.

⁷² Pabst, 'Frankreich und Konrad', pp.337-68, where Pabst places the events in the context of France and Germany's struggle for a dominant position against the other and in central Europe. This struggle was not to end until one was fully broken by the other, or a solution 'in wahrhaft nationalen Sinne' appeared.

⁷³ Reuter, *Germany in the early middle ages*, p.187.

⁷⁴ Wipo, c.2, pp.13-20.

⁷⁵ The often-stated belief that they were secular magnates emerges from William's letter to Leo of Vercelli after the affair was over, where he refers to 'quidam primorum Italiae' wanting him to depose 'ex voluntate eorum episcopos qui essent Italiae', Fulbert of Chartres, *Letters and Poems*, no.113, pp.202-03. But note that this may refer to only one element of the conspiracy, whose help William could nevertheless not do without.

Lombard crown for himself or his son, and went to Italy to investigate his support.⁷⁶ While William eventually turned down the offer, for our purposes it is noteworthy that Odo II of Blois was involved in these negotiations in some unknown capacity, including negotiations with Robert, and that sometime in 1025, William tried to persuade Robert to help Frederick of Upper Lotharingia in his rebellion. While we know that Gerard I feared such an intervention, it is nevertheless unclear whether such help was forthcoming.⁷⁷ Certainly the death of King Hugh, Robert's son and successor, put an end to such plans.⁷⁸

Burgund seems only tangentially related to these events. King Rudolf III refused Conrad's claim to inherit the agreement Rudolf had made with Henry II whereby the latter would become Rudolf's heir, but he seems to have been acting independently.⁷⁹ There is no evidence that Odo was part of a conspiracy to attack *Burgund* while Robert attacked Lotharingia and William Italy,⁸⁰ but Rudolf's rejection of Conrad provides a clue as to Odo's motivation for supporting William's Italian bid and seeking Robert's help for the Aquitainian duke. An actual invasion of *Burgund* makes no sense while

⁷⁶ Fulbert of Chartres, *Letters and Poems*, no.104, pp.188-89: 'G(uillelmus) Pictavorum comes herus meus locutus est mihi nuper, dicens quod postquam Itali discesserunt a vobis diffisi quod vos regem haberent, petierunt filium suum ad regem.' The letter is from Fulk of Anjou asking Robert the Pious to help William in his bid for the Italian throne.

⁷⁷ The only evidence of an invasion attempt are references in Fulbert's letters to Robert and Constance being on some arduous journey and difficult to contact, at a time when Fulbert thinks Odo might be with them.

⁷⁸ As noted already by Bresslau, *Jahrbücher Konrad II*, vol. 1, p.111 and Pfister, *Études*, p.266.

⁷⁹ Wipo, *Gesta*, c.8, p.31. Rudolf's unwillingness to renew the contract may reflect a decline in the threat posed by Count Otto-William of the Franche-Comté either after Robert the Pious's intervention in *Bourgogne* and imposition of his son Henry as duke or simply because Otto-William was old (he died in 1026, probably in his sixties).

⁸⁰ Pace Pabst, 'Frankreich und Konrad', pp.357-58. Pabst is in error when he states that Odo II was next in line to the Burgundian throne: this was true in 1032, but in 1024 Otto-William of the Franche-Comté, Rudolf III's adoptive brother and sometime pretender, was still alive.

Rudolf was still alive, but it may be that he hoped the pressure on Conrad in Italy and Lotharingia would enable Rudolf to break away leaving Odo as his heir.⁸¹ It was while claiming the kingdom after Rudolf's death in 1032 that Odo met his own end.⁸²

More relevant to our interests is the Lotharingian constellation, as examined by Robert Parisot.⁸³ Both Thietmar and the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* relate how Count Gerard of Alsace, Empress Cunigunde's brother-in-law and Conrad II's uncle, had, in 1017, attacked Duke Godfrey of Lower Lotharingia, but been defeated.⁸⁴ Gerard's son, Siegfried, was mortally wounded and the young Conrad, the future king, was himself injured.⁸⁵ The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* note that c.1018, Godfrey and Bishop Gerard, 'together with other supporters of the emperor put down with much difficulty those rebellions (*seditiones*) which [relatives] of the empress's

⁸¹ Negotiations to this effect provide an alternative hypothesis for the strenuous journey of Robert, Constance and Odo to which Fulbert refers.

⁸² Wipo, *Gesta*, c.34, p.56.

⁸³ Robert Parisot, *Les origines de la Haute-Lorraine et sa première maison ducale (959-1033)* (Paris, 1909), pp.409-18.

⁸⁴ 'Hiis quoque adiciam mortiferum Godefridi ducis et Gerardi comitis congressum. Illi namque diu invicem discordes certum condixere diem, qua cum suis fautoribus haec certo duelli iudicio discernent. Mense Augusto ac VI. Kal. Septembris in quadam prati florentis conducta planicie confligebant. Sed superbiam Gerardi humilitas Christi molliens ac socios eius in fugam subito vertens; non minus ex hiis quam CCC prostravit viros...', Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII:62, p.474-75; 'Item etiam comes quidam Gerardus, secundum secularem pompam male fastuosus, plerisque assultibus imperatorem irritabat; illique quasi capiti et domino omnium malorum, cuncti rebelles et infideles imperatoris subjecti, cuncta mala perpetrabant. Qui parata valida manu, circa viciniam ducis Godefridi, illum quidem incautum estimans, quadam die cum incendiis et depraedationibus desevire accessit. At subito dux nuntiis excitatus, collectis quos presentes habebat, in fidelitate imperatoris sed et in Dei clementia fisus, adversum hostem ierat; bellumque iniens, Gerardo fugato et unico filio [Siegfried] vulnerato capto, postmodum vero defuncto, victoriam adeptus est. Quae causa reliquis infidelibus magnum incussit timorem, ac patriae intulit pacis et quietis tranquillitatem.' *GeC*, III:11, p.469.

⁸⁵ 'Sauciatus est ibi Cono, cui iam illicite nupsit neptis sua Ernasti ducis vidua.' Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII:62, pp.476-77.

sister often launched against the order (*status*) of the land.⁸⁶ According to Thietmar, Gerard of Alsace and Godfrey only made peace in 1018 because the Emperor forced them to.⁸⁷ It is clear why Godfrey's brother and successor Gozelo would have been opposed to Conrad's accession, and also obvious why the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* should believe that the Lower Lotharingian duke was the centre of the resistance: the previous alliance of bishop and duke was suddenly no longer in operation.⁸⁸ William of Aquitaine saw it otherwise: he looked to Duke Frederick of Upper Lotharingia, who was married to the pretender Conrad the Younger's mother.⁸⁹

These are precisely the years in which the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* were most likely being written.⁹⁰ Henry II was almost certainly terminally ill or dead by the time writing began: he was ill throughout much of 1024.⁹¹ We can in fact be certain that Henry was dead by the time the section on Warin and Berold's peace oath was written, and the fragmentary nature of the description of Conrad's accession, which was

⁸⁶ 'Post bellum vero Gerardi quod jam diximus, illas seditiones, quas sororii imperatoris contra statum regni saepius incitabant, domnus episcopus duxque Godefridus una cum aliis fidelibus imperatoris multo labore sopierant...' *GeC*, III:13, p.470

⁸⁷ 'Godefridus quoque dux et Gerhardus comes imperatoria potestate pacificati sunt.' Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IX:17, p.249

⁸⁸ 'Quorum ordinationi dux Gothilo, princeps videlicet Lothariensium, contraire voluit; episcoposque Coloniae, Noviomagi, Viriduni, Trajecti, Leodii allocutus, sacramentum a singulis accepit, nonnisi ejus consensu manus se ei daturus neque ad eum ituros. Hoc idem dux Theodericus comesque Haynocensium Raginerius cum sibi complicitibus sacramento firmaverunt.' III:50. The reference to 'Noviomagus' must be incorrect – Nijmegen was no diocese and its closest episcopal seat, Utrecht, is listed separately. Pabst's correction to Noyon ('Noviomensis') must be right, although we need not share his shock at the participation of a 'französischer Unterthan und nichts weiter als das' in imperial politics: p.354, esp. n.2. At the time of these events Dietrich I shared the ducal title with his son Frederick.

⁸⁹ See Fulbert of Chartres, *Letters and Poems*, no.104, pp.188-89: 'Nunc ergo mandat vobis postulans suppliciter gratiam vestram, ut detineatis homines de Lotharingia et Fredericum ducem atque alios quos poteritis ne concordent cum rege Cono, inflectendo eos quantum quiveritis ad auxilium eius.' This is from the same letter from Fulk Nerra cited above, p.164, n.76.

⁹⁰ At least, this section of it; see above, pp.87-98.

⁹¹ *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, an.1024, p.89.

only completed in Lotharingia in December 1025, implies that the writing was taking place as events unfolded or at the very latest in their immediate aftermath.⁹²

Although we have no evidence that Robert actually was considering an invasion of Lotharingia, the *Gesta* author clearly thought so.⁹³ To understand the concern, we must consider his ambivalent attitude toward the West Frankish king. Walter II, the castellan of Cambrai and the bishop's greatest enemy, acquired Robert, alongside Odo of Blois, as intercessors.⁹⁴ The castellan must have considered them allies, and it was therefore at least theoretically in their power to limit how much damage Walter might do to episcopal interests. At the same time, the *Gesta* depict Robert positively when he allies with the Emperor to rein in Baldwin IV of Flanders.⁹⁵ The link between Robert's feared hostility, Walter's activities, and the extension of Flemish power is clearly made in the *Gesta* account of the succession crisis.⁹⁶ At the same time, the conflict between Dietrich of Upper Lotharingia and Odo of Blois had been set aside in 1023, so there remained no obstacle to co-operation between the West Frankish and Lotharingian magnates. When Gerard's previously most reliable ally, the duke of Lower Lotharingia, also came out against Conrad, and so potentially alongside Robert, Odo and by extension Baldwin and Walter, the bishop was left politically alone.

⁹² Henry II's death is mentioned in III:36 and III:38, and thus brackets the description of the Ivois/Mouzon summit.

⁹³ *GeC*, III:50, p.485.

⁹⁴ *GeC*, III:3, p.467. In fact, these two were apparently too busy, and they sent Harduin of Noyon and others instead. See also *GeC*, III:42, p.481.

⁹⁵ *GeC*, I:33, p.414; I:114, p.452.

⁹⁶ 'Nihilominus regem Francorum placare muneribus studuit [i.e. Bishop Gerard], ne sibi primitus usurpationem inferret, quam toto regno facere ad consilium habuit. Balduinum preterea comitem repressit modeste, ne sibi munitiones construeret Cameraci, Walteri corruptus fraudulentis.' *GeC*, III:50, p.485. The idea that Robert was in a position to invade 'the whole kingdom' is a fantasy. Even if this were only to refer to Lotharingia, it makes no sense given the position of the Lotharingian dukes vis-à-vis Conrad.

Gerard had no political leverage, but he may well have hoped for ideological influence. The *Gesta* depicts the ideal relationship between the two kingdoms in his account of the Ivois/Mouzon meetings. The portrayal comes immediately after a description of an omen portending the deaths of Duke Godfrey and Emperor Henry, and is thus explicitly elegaic in tone.⁹⁷ Henry goes to Ivois intending to speak with Robert about the state of the kingdom, but not so much about worldly as about spiritual matters.⁹⁸ Henry's humility is praised, and when the two kings meet:

‘Ibi certe pacis et iusticiae summa diffinitio mutuaeque amicitiae facta reconciliatio; ibi quoque diligentissime de pace sanctae Dei aecclesiae maxime tractatum est, et quomodo Christianitati, quae tot lapsibus patet, melius subvenire deberent.’

They then arranged to meet again for a council of prelates from both sides of the Alps in Italy. When the *Gesta* describes the giving of gifts, they explicitly mention the Archbishop of Cologne, Gerard himself and Duke Godfrey of Lower Lotharingia. Thus in one account, the *Gesta* demonstrate the role of ideal kingship in ecclesiastical renewal, both between kingdoms and in Christendom generally, while foregrounding the role of Lotharingia and its magnates. And this is all done in the foreknowledge of the rejection of Henry's successor by Godfrey's and, potentially, by Robert.

If Robert is seen here positively in his role as ecclesiastical reformer, there remains the question of why Gerard seems to have objected to the peace oath suggested by Warin of Beauvais and Berold of Soissons. The ostensible reason – that enforcing peace is a matter for kings not bishops – is clearly spurious,⁹⁹ and the accusation that it

⁹⁷ *GeC*, III:36, p.480.

⁹⁸ ‘ibi scilicet cum Rotberto rege colloquium habiturus, sed et de statu imperii, ac non tantum de mundanis verum de spiritualibus locuturus’ *GeC*, III:37, p.480.

⁹⁹ Compare the *Gesta*'s account of Bishop Rothard's destruction of Otto of Vermandois's castle at Vinchy near Cambrai: *GeC*, I:103, pp.443-44.

is suggested because of the weakness of the king is belied by Robert's activities at Compiègne, Ivois/Mouzon and Héry, but they both betray Gerard's concerns at the time of writing, during the succession crisis. Gerard's ideal, as set out in the Ivois/Mouzon account, is for the peaceful co-operation of kings, episcopacy and dukes in the ordering of Christendom. In this political order, each bishop or magnate takes his place as subject of a king, in Gerard's case, the German king or Emperor. It is from this order that Gerard gets his moral authority as a bishop, and at the time of writing, this order is broken. The duke, and many of Gerard's close episcopal colleagues, refuse to accept the new king, and the foreign king threatens to break his God-given bounds. In this context, Robert's attempt to overcome the stigma of the Orléans heresy trial by putting himself at the head of reform councils is a threat to Gerard's authority.¹⁰⁰ It is therefore rewritten as the overturning of the natural order. Only in co-operation with the German Emperor do the *Gesta* allow Robert a legitimate role in the renewal of Christendom. The implication is that in a time without such a figure, the West Frankish king should leave well alone. That Gerard's slander of Robert is motivated by fear rather than confidence goes without saying.

In conclusion, the *Gesta*'s depiction of the peace oath as usurping royal right to make up for Robert's weakness is not a description of the nature of the peace councils but conditioned by the context of the succession crisis of 1024-25. Our sources for other peace councils show secular and ecclesiastical authorities working side-by-side. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* offer no evidence to the contrary.

We must now consider the *Gesta*'s second description of an encounter between Gerard I and the Peace 'movement'. There are in fact three stages to the account,

¹⁰⁰ In this light, Gerard's 'discovery' of very similar heretics in January 1025, at the height of the crisis, looks like ideological competition with the West Frankish king, see Moore, *Origins of European Dissent*, pp.288-89.

referring to the promulgation of two peace declarations, one at Amiens-Corbie and one at Arras-Cambrai. Each of these must be dealt with in turn. As above, it is necessary first to look at whether the *Gesta* account fits any external evidence we might have and then to take into account the time of composition of this part of the *Gesta*.

To begin with, the *Gesta* describe an attempt at 'innovation' by this time unnamed French bishops. On the authority of a letter from heaven ordering peace on earth one bishop supposedly forbade violence, instituted fasting which would constitute full penance for all sins, and ordered that anyone who did not swear to obey this would be excommunicated, unattended when dying and would not be taken to be buried.¹⁰¹ It is in reaction to this that Gerard gives the 'Three Orders' speech (*eloquium*). The precise context is not given, but it begins with the description of the three orders, leading into a justification of the *pugnatores*, and of the right to take back what is stolen and to avenge wrongdoing. Gerard then denounces as uncanonical the ideas that fasting is sufficient penance,¹⁰² and that people should be forced to swear the oath. He finishes

¹⁰¹ 'Istiusmodi decretum a Franciae episcopis datum est servari subjectis sibi populis. Unus eorum celitus sibi delatas dixit esse literas, quae pacem monerent renovandam in terra. Quam rem mandavit ceteris, et haec tradenda dedit populis: Arma quisquam non ferret, direpta non repeteret; sui sanguinis vel cujuslibet proximi, ultor minime existens percussoribus cogeretur indulgere; jejunium in pane et aqua omni sexta feria observarent, et in sabbato a carne et pinguamine; soloque hoc contenti jejunio in omnium peccatorum satisfactione, nullam se scirent ab eis aliam addicendam poenitentiam. Et haec sacramento se servare firmarent, quod qui nollet, christianitate privaretur, et exeuntem de saeculo nullus visitaret nec sepulturae traderet. Alia quoque inportabilia quam plurima dederunt mandata, quae oneri visa sunt replicare.' *GeC*, III:52, p.485.

¹⁰² Poly and Bournazel are certainly right to argue that this would be a perfect way for Gerard's enemies to escape the threat of excommunication, but strictly speaking Walter is not connected to this initiative: he is only mentioned here in connection with Cambrai-Arras. Poly and Bournazel have collapsed two incidents into one another by uncritically treating the Peace of God as a 'movement', but it is a slip I suspect the *Gesta* are written to promote: Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation 900-1200*, Caroline Higgitt (tr.), (New York, 1991), pp.166-7 (originally published as *La mutation féodale, x^e-xii^e siècles* (Paris, 1980); and below, pp.171-72.

by arguing that those who repent, even if they do so at the last moment, should be given full burial.¹⁰³

In a wonderful piece of detective work, David C. van Meter has demonstrated without doubt that this refers to the peace of Amiens-Corbie described in the *Miracula s. Adalhardi* and was able to date it to 1033-34.¹⁰⁴ He is able to show that an outbreak of miracles at Corbie drew pilgrims away from Cambrai, thus grounding Gerard's and the *Gesta's* hostility to the peace. I would argue nonetheless that he goes on to make two mistakes of interpretation. Firstly, in rightly criticising Bonnaud-Delamare's claim that the entire account of the *Miracula s. Adalhardi* is a late eleventh-century fiction by Gerard of Sauve-Majeure, he ignores other, useful aspects of Bonnaud-Delamare's work.¹⁰⁵ Namely, Bonnaud-Delamare was able to show how the *two* attempts at peace regulation described in the *Miracula*, one taking place apparently in Amiens and one at a spot between the two sites, in fact reflect struggles between the abbots of Corbie and Bishop Fulk II of Amiens over the abbey's immunity.¹⁰⁶ That van Meter was able to

¹⁰³ The speech continues in the *MGH* edition, dealing with the question of having different rules for the perfect and the imperfect: III:52, p.486. This is an emendation by the editor Bethmann based on later manuscripts, which is unlikely to be correct since, as van Meter has pointed out, our earliest witness, Sigebert of Gembloux, ends his summary of the speech at the unemended place: van Meter, 'The peace of Amiens-Corbie', p.645; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, L. Bethmann (ed.), *MGH SS VI* (Hanover, 1844), an.1033, p.357. For our purposes, the latter part of the speech will therefore be assigned to where it appears in the earlier manuscripts – at the end of III:54.

¹⁰⁴ van Meter, 'The peace of Amiens-Corbie'. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede*, p.64, refers to both peace promulgations in the context of the 1030s but does not notice that the two references are one and the same thing.

¹⁰⁵ van Meter is following Töpfer here: *ibid.*, p. 636, n13; Töpfer, 'Die Anfänge', p.879, n.9.

¹⁰⁶ R. Bonnaud-Delamare, 'La paix d'Amiens et de Corbie au XIe siècle', *Revue du Nord XXXVIII* (1956), 168-75; see also Hoffmann's comments, *Gottesfriede*, pp.64-65. For the traces of Fulk II's claim to Corbie and use of peace rhetoric to be found on Amiens coinage, see Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht. Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Pariser Historische Studien 17, Bonn, 1981), p.604.

date the *Miracula* instead to shortly after 1051 only helps this case, since this was when Corbie had at least temporarily won their case after the excommunication of Fulk II by Leo IX at the synod of Rheims in 1049 and the papal confirmation of the abbey's privileges in 1050.¹⁰⁷ Thus the *Miracula* are certainly no objective description of popular fervour, nor even just an attempt to promote the cult (although that is, like all miracle collections, their primary purpose), but they also record the abbey's version of conflicts of jurisdiction dating to the 1030s and only recently resolved in their favour.¹⁰⁸

There is no sign of this background in the *Gesta*; indeed there is no reason for there to be. Instead the *Gesta* concentrate on the bishop's production of a letter from heaven and his announcement of universal penance. Van Meter seeks lexical similarities between the *Gesta*'s indirect report and a twelfth-century Corbie incarnation of the *Carta dominica* in order to demonstrate apocalyptic fears. In particular he argues that such rhetoric (which is, strictly speaking, eschatological and not necessarily apocalyptic) reflects 'radical egalitarianism' of which Gerard was afraid.¹⁰⁹ Yet the *Gesta* is our *only* source for the Corbie council which refers to a letter from heaven, and

¹⁰⁷ Migne, *PL* CXLIII, cols.641-42.

¹⁰⁸ The *Miracula* themselves of course write the first meeting up as a triumph of Adalard's thaumaturgical powers, whereas the peace agreement is shown to be temporary. The telltale signs of the dispute are to be found in the fact that the peace was probably held and certainly to be renewed in Amiens, at the feast of St Firmin, the patron saint of Amiens, and in front of the count and bishop: 'Ita Ambianenses et Corbeienses cum suis patronis conveniunt, itegram pacem, id est totius hebdomadae devernunt, et ut per singulos annos ad id confirmandum Ambianis in die festivitatis S. Firmini redeant unanimiter Deo repromittunt. Ligant se promissionis voto, votumque religant sacramento. Fuit autem haec repromissio, ut si qui disceptarent inter se aliquo discidio, non se vindicarent praeda aut incendio, donec statute die ante ecclesiam coram pontifice et comite fieret pacificalis declamatio.' *Miracula s. Adelardi*, *AASS* Jan. I, c.4, p.119.

¹⁰⁹ van Meter, 'The peace of Amiens-Corbie', p.657. Van Meter claims, 'The threat was posed by a dangerous if somewhat odd [...] current of institutionally-sponsored egalitarianism – conceived in imitation, no doubt, of the apostolic life – that emanated from a particularly millenarian manifestation of the peace movement.' p.655. He is explicitly following Duby, 'Les laïcs'.

even if we can assume the account is not entirely fictional, van Meter makes his second mistake in interpretation when he takes the report at face value, without allowing for the fact that the competition over miracles gives the *Gesta* an *a priori* reason to be hostile and therefore to misrepresent the events at Corbie. Additionally, the provisions of the first Corbie peace provide for the strengthening of public power, in particular that of the bishop and the count to whom the bishops of Amiens were closely related.¹¹⁰ Given that the bishop of Cambrai was himself both bishop and count, the reasons for the *Gesta*'s particular depiction of the peace council must lie elsewhere than in anxiety that his authority be eroded by millennial enthusiasm.

Van Meter does not look at the context in which the *Gesta* author places the account, and thus misses what the real threat to Gerard was perceived to have been. 'It was after this occasion', as the *Gesta* author puts it, referring to Gerard's speech on the three orders, that Gerard went to Douai. There a meeting of the people was taking place which was trying to set up a 'false peace'. Among those assembled was the castellan of Cambrai, Walter II, with whom Gerard had had repeated trouble and with whose father his predecessors had struggled too. Walter spread the opinion amongst everyone 'inside and out' that Gerard did not want to acquiesce to the peace. The specific terms being discussed, say the *Gesta*, were that no one should carry arms or demand back what was theirs. Walter II wanted this to be agreed on so that he could be freed from responsibility for his previous wrongdoing and be unhindered by anyone in the future.

¹¹⁰ The counts were able to place their family members on the episcopal throne for much of the Eleventh Century; Fulk II was the brother of Count Drogo and uncle of Count Walter III of Amiens-Vexin: D. Bates, 'Lord Sudeley's Ancestors: The Family of the Counts of Amiens, Valois and the Vexin in France and England during the Eleventh Century', in *The Sudeleys – Lords of Toddington* (Manorial Society of Great Britain, 1987), pp.37-38. Note that van Meter himself cites a charter of Fulk's from 1034, which uses eschatological rhetoric, *ibid.*, p.643 and n.34.

Gerard essentially gave in, ‘proving’ his commitment to peace by forgiving Walter everything the castellan owed him.¹¹¹

The pressure continued however, now from Baldwin IV of Flanders, to order that the peace be sworn on oath. Gerard, typically, responded that he would do nothing against the law and gospel (*lex et evangelium*), but caved in again, ‘conquered by weariness’, and ordered relics to be gathered and brought to ‘a/the designated place...on the borders of Cambrai and Arras’.¹¹² Again Walter was present, slandering Gerard ‘inside and outside’ to the point where the people (*populus*) were almost ready to use violence. However Gerard publicly denounced Walter, then, after speaking on the health of the soul, made the people promise (there is no mention of an oath) that they would obey Christian law of their own free will, and that should they deviate, they would return to penance – in other words the author insists on Gerard’s orthodoxy and

¹¹¹ ‘Causa post haec fuit, qua Duacum petiit. Ubi conventus populi vocibus de statuenda pace falsa, respondit pro tempore, quod perceperat ab eo qui est idem heri et hodie, nec immutatur crastino tempore. Suggesterat in aures omnium Walterus, qui erant foris et intus, episcopum paci nolle acquiescere; non quia erat filius pacis, sed quia liberius quaerebat studere artibus suae malignitatis. Collegerat duo superius dicta [III:52, pp.485-86; the reference is to the Amiens-Corbie peace]: ne quis arma ferret, nec direpta repeteret, studebatque, ut preteritae vitae rapinis et caedibus, quibus pastus fuerat, silentium daretur, et ex tunc licentius, nullo ferente arma, assuetis malis frueretur. Quod praesciens episcopus, sedato populo calliditates illius exposuit, utque paci non esset contrarius, debita sua multiplicia illi indulsit, tantum ut in reliquum populus de eo pacem in veritate quaerere, etiam cum dampno, si per hoc posset fieri, propriae substantiae, qui illi, ut dictum est, pro hoc universa relaxaverat debita.’ *GeC*, III:53, pp.486-87.

¹¹² The traditional term ‘Peace of Douai’ seems therefore strictly to be a misnomer. Douai lay close to, but not on the border between the two dioceses. Given that some passage of time is implied by the ablative absolute and by phrases such as ‘Baldwin began to urge him...’ and ‘conquered by weariness’, we may postulate some negotiation about where the meeting was to take place. Given that Douai was a stronghold of the counts of Flanders, and Hugh, the castellan of Douai, had probably married Walter II of Cambrai’s daughter, Adela, the result seems to be a compromise on ‘neutral ground’, similar to the arrangements arrived at between Amiens and Corbie. Félix Brassart, *Histoire du château et de la châtelanie de Douai depuis le X^e siècle jusqu’en 1789* (Douai, 1877), vol 1, pp.50-62. It would also imply however, that the agreement covered the whole of the double diocese, and not just the diocese of Arras, *pace* Brassart, pp.59-60. For further discussion of the Flemish counts’ development of Douai, see Introduction, above, pp.9-10, 21-23.

again on his defence of church law. This apparently defused the situation.¹¹³ There then follows in the manuscripts a speech about the different rules for the perfect and imperfect which appears to be the words spoken ‘de salute animae’.¹¹⁴

Gerard’s peace legislation survives in the municipal library in Douai (MS Douai 856), in a twelfth-century manuscript from the abbey of Marchiennes, and I will henceforward refer to it as ‘the Marchiennes text’.¹¹⁵ A close textual relative is now in Laon.¹¹⁶ The provisions are similar: from sunset on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday (and every day from the beginning of Advent to the octave of Epiphany, from Septuagesima to the octave of Easter and from Rogation Day to the octave of Pentecost), no man or woman was to attack, wound or kill another man or woman, nor raid, take or burn any castle, *bourg* or vill by stratagem, violence or deception, nor were they to take another’s lands, animals, money, clothes or any other belonging.¹¹⁷ The key

¹¹³ *GeC*, III:54, p.487.

¹¹⁴ “De dictis nostris hoc volumus repetere, ne quis improvidus nos putet non satis aperte verba evangelica protulisse contra episcoporum statuta; quia Dominus quaedam sua mandata dedit imperfectis pariter et perfectis, quaedam perfectis. Quod sufficiat ad testimonium; quia cum dixisset juveni cuidam “Mandata nosti?” subinferens: “Non occides,” ceteraque hujusmodi, illeque respondisset: “Haec omnia custodivi a juventute mea,” ait: “Si vis perfectus esse, vende quae habes et da pauperibus.” Alio quoque in loco de eunuchis disputans, “Qui potest,” inquit, “capere, capiat; non enim omnes capiunt.” Nec nos fugit, posse dicere quemquam, quod regnum celorum non ingreditur nisi perfectus quisquam. Cui nos digito insinuamus, »quia stella a stella differt in claritate, et verba Domini replicamus: “In domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt.” Quarum ut ita dicam secundum nos inaequalitas nonnisi ad ejus omnipotentem facta est voluntatem. Quibus ut una servetur aequalitate quantitas, inviolabilis data est ad alterutrum karitas, quod est in singulis, communicans omnibus, cum quicquid factum est, sufficiens sit ad omnia per hoc quod habet in propria natura. Et de nobis dicimus similia, quorum imperfectionem supplet, cui dicit propheta: “Melior est misericordia tua super vitas.” Per quam fit, ut quod habebunt singuli in caelesti vita, sufficiens sit gloria, participabuntque cunctorum laetitia, karitatis perfectione pleni, ut fit aequalitas.”” *GeC*, III:52, p.486. For the positioning of this speech, see above p.171, n.103.

¹¹⁵ Although note the text has been called ‘The Peace of Douai’ in the literature; see above, p.174, n.112.

¹¹⁶ Bonnaud-Delamare, ‘Les insitutions de Paix’, pp.184–88.

¹¹⁷ Note that these crimes were all secular and unarmed clerics, merchants and the powerless were not picked out. This differs greatly from the Burgundian peace declarations, and places the text clearly in the

difference lies in the sanctions. Both Gerard's peace and that of Laon prescribed excommunication and exile for any violator of the peace who did not accept 30 (for the major crimes) or 7 (for the minor) years penance and for anyone who knowingly had anything to do with them. Nevertheless, whereas the Laon text stated that if the violator died having accepted but not having yet completed the penance, then no Christian might visit them on their deathbed, take their body away, bury it (apparently at all) or take things from their belongings, the Marchiennes text was more moderate.¹¹⁸ It allowed that if on their deathbed the violator was moved to repentance, summoned a priest and gave guarantors of their doing penance for the wrongs they had committed, then the priest should absolve them and give him a proper burial. If the violator died obdurate, the body might only be approached by the few who could take it to be buried in 'a remote place'.¹¹⁹

Dominique Barthélemy has seriously questioned the attribution of this text to Gerard.¹²⁰ He points out that there is no specific link between this text and Douai, other than that the (later) manuscript originates in the appropriate diocese. Barthélemy rightly rejects the idea that just because the text mentions heresy, we can necessarily associate it with Gerard.¹²¹ However the monks of Marchiennes had good reason to be interested in Gerard, since it was by him, Leduin of St-Vaast and Baldwin IV that the community was reformed in 1024.¹²² I would also point out that Bonnaud-Delamare's original

context of ecclesiastical sanctions strengthening pre-existing secular law; Goetz, 'Kirchenschutz, Rechtswahrung', 220-37; Werner, 'Observations sur le rôle des évêques', 160-60. Note that women were envisaged as possible criminals.

¹¹⁸ In the case of the minor crimes, the body could not be buried or moved from the place of death until the family of the deceased made restitution to the injured party.

¹¹⁹ Bonnaud-Delamare, 'Les institutions de Paix', p.184*bis*.

¹²⁰ Barthélemy, *L'an mil*, pp.547-78, n.3.

¹²¹ Pace Sproemberg, 'Gerhard I.', p.115.

¹²² *GeC*, II:26, p.461.

attribution was based on the text's 'leniency' towards burial which fitted details of the *Gesta*, more specifically the three orders declaration.¹²³ There is moreover other evidence of Gerard's interest in issues surrounding burial. Investigating the use of the *Regula pastoralis* in Cambrai, Judic describes two fragments in an eleventh-century manuscript, also from Marchiennes.¹²⁴ One is an extract from the Sentences of Taio of Saragossa, dealing with the necessity of stopping malefactors uniting for a peace that would allow them to do more evil, a text very appropriate for Gerard's position.¹²⁵ The other fragment concerns the burial of Solomon despite his having committed evil acts, because he secretly repented before his death. Apart from providing dating evidence for the manuscript – Gerard refers to this in his harangue of the Arras heretics in 1025¹²⁶ – it provides more evidence for Gerard's interest in excommunication and burial, and therefore strengthens the case for Bonnaud-Delamare's attribution, *pace* Barthélemy.¹²⁷ The narrative of the *Gesta* would however suggest that, as noted above, the term 'Peace of Douai' is misleading, and it is rather the 'Peace of Cambrai-Arras'.

It is precisely the sermon against the heretics which can give us a detailed look at Gerard's theology of burial. The sermon was occasioned by the discovery of heretics at Arras in January 1025, although it was almost certainly greatly expanded after being written up.¹²⁸ The context remains important for our purposes however, since the heretics allegedly doubted the necessity of the Church and clerical hierarchy and thus

¹²³ Bonnaud-Delamare, 'Les institutions de Paix', pp.184-85.

¹²⁴ Bruno Judic, 'La diffusion de la *Regula Pastoralis* de Grégoire le Grand dans l'Eglise de Cambrai, une première enquête', *Revue du Nord* LXXVI (1994), 219-21.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.221. Note that Judic also records a sister-MS in Laon.

¹²⁶ *Acta synodi Atrebatensis*, col.1296B.

¹²⁷ Judic, 'La diffusion', pp.221-22.

¹²⁸ E. van Mingroot, 'Acta synodi Attrebatensis (1025): Problèmes de critique de provenance', *Studia Gratiana XX Melanges G. Fransen II*. (Rome 1976), 222-28. Although note that the author of our text specifically says the sun was setting by the time the bishop stopped speaking; *ibid.*, col.1311B.

Gerard's discussion of burial is framed within a general theology of the Church, including of the church building (c.III). Gerard argues that the people meet there for two reasons: out of 'old tradition', i.e. the Old Testament, to acquire judgements on things and knowledge, and, from the New Testament, to eat the body of Christ. For everyone seeks both judgement of good and bad acts, knowledge of God, and to eat the body of Christ.¹²⁹ A church is called a church because it contains the Church, i.e. the people (*populus*) called together by God.¹³⁰ The people are to leave behind trivial, worldly thoughts and speech, enter the church where God and his angels are, and think on the dealings of the angels, the presence of the majesty of God, and to invoke his name with hymns and spiritual psalms.¹³¹ Essentially the church building replicates the Church in unifying the 'people' in timelessness.¹³² Later in the sermon (c.VII), Gerard deals directly with burial, which he says the heretics claim to be a moneymaking scam on the part of the priests.¹³³ Gerard asks,

'Porro cum fideles Christiani temporalem vitam in unitate Spiritus sancti sub mysterio catholicae fidei in hac temporali Ecclesia communiter exigunt, ut per hanc ad coelestem perveniant, ubi, rogo, debent corpora eorum post resolutionem rectius quam in sinu matris Ecclesiae tumulari? Sicut enim temporali ecclesiae temporaliter vivendo per fidem adhaerent, ita et temporaliter moriendo in sinu ipsius requiescunt, diem videlicet resurrectionis et intemporalis Ecclesiae gloriam exspectantes. Haec est enim mater credentium, quae natos ad mortem regenerat ad immortalitatem, quae filiorum corpora servat sane ad tempus sopita, in generali tamen resurrectione ad immarcessibilem gloriam suscitanda.'¹³⁴

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, col.1286D.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, col.1287A-B.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, col.1287B-C.

¹³² Henri Platelle, 'La cathédrale et le diocèse. Un aspect religieux du rapport ville-campagne. L'exemple de Cambrai', in Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Alain Dierkens (edd), *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Age. Mélanges Georges Despy* (Liege, 1991), pp.626-68. Here Platelle sets the theory propounded here against the practice of the ceremony of consecration of the new cathedral of Cambrai, discussed above, p.151.

¹³³ *Acta synodi Atrebatenses*, col.1295A; compare Gerard's comments to Leduin of St-Vaast about five years later, see p.84, n.153.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, col.1295A-B.

The heretics should say from where they think the spirit of eternal life will come to them.¹³⁵ Thus burial by the Church is necessary because it extends the community of Christians, created by separating the people from the tribulations of the world, beyond death to the Last Judgement. Additionally, it is burial by the Church that separates the worthy from the unworthy, the penitent from the impenitent.¹³⁶ It is at this point that Gerard refers to Solomon being buried with others although he had not done penance.

The implication here is that the risk of worldly corruption extends beyond death. The church building was necessary to create a community because in it worldly things could be left behind. Similarly it was not fitting for Christians to be buried next to sinners, since that would disturb the boundaries between clean and unclean. This could be quite literal, as in what seems to have been one of Gerard's favourite anecdotes, picked up from Adalbold of Utrecht.¹³⁷ A chief man among the Frisians had persuaded the locals not to take the Eucharist on the basis that they should rather drink a pitcher of beer and died shortly afterwards. He was buried in the cemetery of the little village because he was an important person, and even when Adalbold, who was with Henry II in Saxony at the time, ordered that he be disinterred, no one dared do so out of fear of his kin. Eventually Adalbold had to come back personally and order the man to be dragged out of the grave by the feet, and although he had been buried almost fifty days before, within a mile¹³⁸ he vomited up his beer as if he had recently drunk it. This is clearly an example of a horrendous story designed to disgust the audience into holiness,

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, col.1295B.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, col.1296A-B.

¹³⁷ *GeC*, III:22, pp.472-73.

¹³⁸ The distance may be significant – he was seemingly being taken to be buried in 'a remote place'.

and similar follows.¹³⁹ What is interesting here however is how bodily corruption communicates sin even after death. It is no wonder Adalbold is said to feel it was unworthy for an unfaithful man to be treated in the same way as a faithful one. Indeed in a letter to the archdeacons of Liège, Gerard explains that it is impossible to absolve the dead, with reference to John 11:44, where the disciples unbind Lazarus after his resurrection, pointing out that if they had done so before the resurrection, they would have found not vigour (*virtus*) but foulness (*fetor*).¹⁴⁰

This letter to the archdeacons of Liège, dated to 1018-21,¹⁴¹ demonstrates the Gerard's 'leniency' was no general attitude but determined by the principle of his office. According to the author of the *Gesta*, the archdeacons, 'led either by the love of money or for the sake of friends' allowed excommunicates 'to be buried as equals among faithful Christians'.¹⁴² And indeed Gerard argues precisely that to absolve those who have died unrepentant is an abuse of the priestly power of binding and loosing, and an offence against God's judgement.¹⁴³ Gerard has specific grievances, however. The archdeacons of Liège had buried people Gerard had excommunicated – specifically one Erlebold, who had slept with a nun and had perpetrated 'many evils' in Gerard's diocese, and whom, at his co-bishop's instigation, Gerard had excommunicated, but

¹³⁹ *GeC*, III:23, p.473. Here the sinner is burnt by the Eucharist placed in his mouth on his deathbed.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III:28, p.475.

¹⁴¹ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', p.303. However the fact that the letter addresses the archdeacons directly, while referring generally to decisions by 'your lord' and 'our brother', suggests that the letter is taking advantage of a vacancy to complain about past practices. This would place it in either 1018 (between the episcopates of Balderich and Wolboldo) or in 1021 (between those of Wolboldo and Durand). That Gerard singles out the archdeacon John, implying his importance, and that John only became archdeacon in 1018 and then left to be provost of St Lambert in 1021, may imply the later date.

¹⁴² *GeC*, III:28, p.474.

¹⁴³ Gerard speaks rhetorically of those who continued to do evil 'right up to the very departure of life', but this is likely to be rhetorical exaggeration and cannot be taken to indicate theological 'leniency': *ibid.*, III:28, p.474.

whom the bishop had received back into communion without consulting Gerard.¹⁴⁴ Additionally other, unnamed, malefactors from Gerard's diocese, excommunicated for burnings and plundering, received burial in the diocese of Liège, specifically in Nivelles.¹⁴⁵ Interestingly, Gerard suggests that someone might try to buy absolution or burial, suggesting that the money or gifts be used to erect palaces or restore churches,¹⁴⁶ and he fears that the archdeacons, and here he singles out John (who between 1021 and 1025, as provost of St-Lambert, would be censured by the not-yet-bishop Wazo of Liège for trying to become dean as well¹⁴⁷), might appeal to 'authorities' to defend their action. Against a possible claim that they were free to absolve people in their own diocese, Gerard quotes what he thinks is a canon of the council of Meaux, to the effect that:

De illis, qui infra parrochiam beneficia et alodum habent et alterius episcopi parrochiani sunt et, dum de loco ad locum iter faciunt, rapinas et depredationes faciunt, placuit nobis, ut excommunicentur, ne extra parrochiam exeant, quam quae perpetrarunt digne emendent.¹⁴⁸

Thus what we see here is clearly a dispute over jurisdiction. Individuals, or, as Gerard calls them, *moderni seniores*, who could move back and forth between the dioceses of

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, III, c.28, p.476.

¹⁴⁵ Curiously, this is where Lambert of Louvain, on his way to the battle of Florennes in 1015, slept with another (the same?) nun who gave him a relic which almost won him the battle; *ibid.*, III:12, p.469.

¹⁴⁶ The line between this and pious benefaction is thin indeed! The only difference is whether, as Gerard says in relation to the *pugnatores*, there is sin in the conscience; *ibid.*, III:52, p.485.

¹⁴⁷ Anselm, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, cc.40-1, pp.211-15; for dating cf p.214, n.73.

¹⁴⁸ It is in fact an extract from canon 6 of the capitulary of Verneuil 884: *Karolomanni Capitulare Vernense*, Victor Krause (ed.), *MGH Capitula regum francorum* II (Hanover, 1897), p.373. Gerard had the extract in turn from canon 291 of Regino of Prüm's *Libri duo de Synodalibus causis et Disciplinis ecclesiasticis* F. G. A. Wasserschleben (ed.) (Leipzig, 1840), p.327, who falsely attributed it to Meaux. There is still a tenth-century copy of Regino's canon collection in the abbey of St-Vaast: Arras BM 723 (675). For the connection between Verneuil and the peace legislation, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Observations sur le rôle des évêques', pp.167-68.

Liège and Cambrai, were playing one diocese off against the other to raid and plunder not just with impunity, but, by extension, with legitimacy.¹⁴⁹

This becomes clearer as we look at the history of relations between Gerard and his castellan Walter II. The allegation of the *Gesta* that Walter wanted a general ban on carrying arms so that he could act with impunity could simply be exaggeration, but it is hard to imagine how such a situation was supposed to work in practice, unless Walter was to be the authority enforcing the peace.¹⁵⁰ In his three orders speech Gerard assigns the role of peacekeepers to the *pugnatores*, but unlike in his earlier disquisition on the roles of bishops and kings, it remains to be defined which *pugnatores* legitimately take on the role.¹⁵¹ Presumably the absolute minimum qualification was membership of the Christian community, as represented by communion in church both in life and death. A universal oath would obliterate precisely this distinction, theoretically including everyone in communion, but in practice leaving them all outside it. The decision over the distinction – over whether there was ‘sin in the conscience’ or not – had to be left in the hands of the bishops, and Gerard’s insistence on being able to forgive deathbed penitents may reflect a desire to leave as much room for episcopal manoeuvre as possible. However, the bishops themselves were not united, as we have seen with reference to Liège. How this might work is quite plain in the circumstances of Walter’s death in 1041. He was apparently killed by four enemies while praying before the doors of a church (St Mary’s, either in Cambrai or Arras), leaving a wife, Ermintrude, and a

¹⁴⁹ Note that these malefactors are coming from Liège, further inside the Empire, and the law Gerard cites is Carolingian – the wrong direction and time for the ‘feudal anarchy’ model!

¹⁵⁰ *GeC*, III:53, p.487. Even if it is rhetoric, it needs to be plausible.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III:52, pp.485-86 and III:27, p.474.

young son.¹⁵² Gerard considered him excommunicate and ordered his burial away from Christians. At Ermintrude's order, and in alliance with John, advocate of Arras, 'almost the whole region of Cambrai was consumed by fire and completely devastated', and under pressure from the Archbishop of Reims and Baldwin V, Gerard relented.¹⁵³ As we have seen, French preponderance in the concentration of forces here is reflected in the supporters of Walter listed elsewhere in the *Gesta*, including King Robert, Bishop Harduin of Noyon and Odo of Blois, as well as Baldwin IV.¹⁵⁴ What we seem to see again therefore is a frontier problem, not this time between two dioceses but across the regnal frontier running through Gerard's see. Further we see Gerard hoist with his own petard, in that he is forced to grant absolution to Walter as having died penitent, although his attempts at satisfaction had been rejected by Gerard himself as insufficient.¹⁵⁵

This history of relations between the bishops of Cambrai and their castellans reveals why the peace regulations of the 1030s are depicted the way they are in the *Gesta*. We have already seen how the account of the former case was informed by the circumstances of its writing, and the same is true in the latter. The section in question is probably to be dated to the early 1050s, and is to be read alongside the first part of the

¹⁵² *Gesta Lietberti*, MGH SSVII, c.2, pp.489-90; *Chronicon s. Andreae*, I:8, p.532; *Annales Elnonenses*, Philip Grierson (ed.), in *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand* (Brussels, 1937), an.1041, p.155.

¹⁵³ For Ermintrude's order to devastate Cambrai, the quotation, and the pressure from the archbishop and count to bury Walter properly, see: *Annales Elnonenses*, *ibid.*, an.1041, p.155. For the involvement of John of Arras, see *Gesta Lietberti*, *ibid.*, c.2, p.490. The *Chronicon S. Andreae* compares Ermintrude with Jezebel: I:8, p.532.

¹⁵⁴ *GeC*, III:3, p.467 and III:42, pp.481-82. The text of the oath in the latter seems to relate to the narrative in the former.

¹⁵⁵ *Annales Elnonenses*, an.1041, p.155, although note that the *Annales* are pro-Walter in this matter.

continuation of the *Gesta*, the *Gesta Lietberti*.¹⁵⁶ This period, and that immediately leading up to it, were turbulent ones in Lower Lotharingia. Duke Gozelo I of Lower Lotharingia died in 1044, and his son Duke Godfrey III 'the Bearded' of Upper Lotharingia rebelled because Henry III had allegedly deprived him of his inheritance. The war continued into 1045, when Henry gave Baldwin V's son, the future Baldwin VI, the march of Antwerp, for which he seems to have got the Flemish count's support against Dietrich IV of Holland. That same year Godfrey was captured, but was released again in 1046. With the death of his brother Duke Gozelo II of Lower Lotharingia in 1046, Godfrey rebelled again to claim his brother's duchy. Although support from Henry I of France was not forthcoming, Baldwin V of Flanders and Dietrich IV of Holland joined him. Baldwin submitted in 1049, but fighting broke out again in 1050, with Henry launching a punitive campaign via Cambrai. Again peace was concluded, so that in early 1051 Baldwin V was on good terms with Henry III. The new bishop of Cambrai, Lietbert, appointed by the Emperor, was excluded from his city by John of Arras, who claimed to be the rightful castellan. Lietbert only successfully took up his see with Baldwin's backing. But later that year, Baldwin and his son took the opportunity of Count Hermann of Hainault's death to invade the latter's county. In 1054 the city of Cambrai became directly involved in the political manoeuvring. Henry III promised John of Arras to reinstate him as castellan of Cambrai in return for his support in attacking Flanders. The 1054 campaign succeeded in taking Tournai, but not in subjecting Baldwin permanently. Indeed, the fighting lasted until December 1056, when Baldwin was able to come to an agreement with the guardians of Henry IV,

¹⁵⁶ van Mingroot, 'Kritisch onderzoek', p.331. Theoretically, the *Gesta* could have been continued annalistically, so that the 1030s reports are indeed contemporary. This only slightly weakens the argument nonetheless, since the contention here is that the dominant problem for the Cambrai bishops was not subversive popular enthusiasm but the castellans of Cambrai.

Empress Agnes and Pope Victor II. Nonetheless, Henry seems to have abandoned John, and Lietbert was able to return to his city, feeling confident enough to undertake a journey to the Holy Land in 1055.¹⁵⁷ That the *Gesta* never mention this pilgrimage and instead move directly on to events after Lietbert's return is the main argument for postulating a break in authorship at this point, with the continuation only being completed after Lietbert's death in 1076. Certainly, c.15, where the break is presumed, does constitute a kind of ending, with Lietbert welcomed back into Cambrai by the joyous populace after his victory over the tyrant John. It is therefore likely that the account of these troubles was written to have this triumph – in both senses of the word – as its culmination.

We therefore see that the report of the 1033-34 peace efforts was composed under very similar circumstances to that about Warin and Berold's. Again conflict had broken out between the Emperor and the duke of Lower Lotharingia. Again conflict with Baldwin drew in Cambrai, its castellan and its bishop. We can thus conclude that the opposition Gerard is shown to have exercised in both his encounters, in 1023 and the 1030s, is not (just) a function of his personal opinion but of the geo-political position of Cambrai. Not Gerard, but the bishops of Cambrai required imperial support, not against the unruly heretical masses but against an ever-shifting constellation of enemies both around and even in the city.

In detaching Gerard's reported criticisms of the peace initiatives from the latter's alleged internal dynamic and instead locating it in the political situation of Cambrai, a number of conclusions can be drawn, and new avenues of investigation opened up. The first constitutes a warning against an *a priori* treatment of the peace initiatives as a movement. It was the position of his diocese straddling the Franco-

¹⁵⁷ Ganshof, 'Les origines de la Flandre Impériale', pp.124-34. For the conflict between Lietbert and John, see: *Gesta Lietberti*, MGH SS VII, cc.5-15, pp.492-94.

German frontier that made it particularly difficult for the bishop of Cambrai, whoever he was, to realise his ideas of episcopal power. However the letter to Liège shows that the regnal frontier is qualitatively no different from any other. The ideas of, in this case, Gerard, relied on an orderly network of bishoprics, with clearly defined responsibilities. This existed on parchment, but as the reference to the archdeacons' possible use of 'authorities' indicates, there were many contradictory pieces of parchment available. The fact that one agreed 'hierarchy of rights'¹⁵⁸ did not exist nevertheless did not just mean that 'modern lords' could do what they wished with the Church, but that the very concept of legitimate lordship was up for grabs. There is no single 'reality' of the Peace of God, nor Platonic ideal against which certain peace efforts do or do not measure up, nor one rhetoric with which it is constructed, rather we are witnessing various rhetorically-constituted realities, in *many* of which *every* individual *must* participate. One of these rhetorics is that of a Peace of God as movement, as described at the beginning of this chapter, but it is only one. Following the *Gesta* and collapsing the various councils and meetings into one phenomenon fails to do justice to the complexity of Gerard's relations with Walter, Baldwin and Liège, to mention only a few dimensions. That the councils in question drew on religious motifs and presumably feelings and worked in the context of secular law is not just hardly unique to these councils as opposed to others, but is a commonplace of *all* early medieval struggles over political legitimacy. Rhetorics of sin, penance, communion and burial, whether expressed in a council, a letter or the devastation of lands leaked into one another and changed over time. Bracketing off some as part of a 'movement' denies this porousness. The Peace of God should therefore be removed from the centre of our attention as an

¹⁵⁸ Hanna Vollrath, 'Konfliktwahrnehmung und Konfliktdarstellung in erzählenden Quellen des 11. Jahrhunderts', in Stefan Weinfurter (ed.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, vol.3 (Sigmaringen, 1991), p.293.

analytical category and make way for a more differentiated consideration of political authority in all its aspects.

Secondly, that two redactions of the *Gesta*, one of them written after Gerard's death, critique the peace initiatives in similar ways while under similar political pressures demonstrates that the attitude of the text is not a direct reflection of any inherent conservatism on Gerard's part, but is a function of the geo-political position of the diocese. In a recent paper on 'the "new historiography" of the apocalyptic year 1000', David C. van Meter argued that 'it is no longer sufficient for historians to merely root around in *documents* [emphasis added] for evidence of eschatological tensions and millennial rhetoric' since such evidence is, apparently, 'rather plentiful'.¹⁵⁹ Instead historians 'are now beginning to appreciate more readily the overwhelming importance of considering genre, audience and context – social, ecclesiastical, and political – in analyzing ... our sources' in order to better assess their historical impact.¹⁶⁰ This chapter has sought to demonstrate that if the correct procedure is undertaken, whereby the sources are first examined in order to assess their evidentiary value, then the support for a generalised crisis c.1000 begins to fall away and the textual argumentation to appear much more specific to Cambrai's context, in particular its tumultuous position on the borders of France, Flanders and the Empire. A discussion of the positive significance of Cambrai's geo-political position follows in the next chapter.

¹⁵⁹ See above for how supporters of the revolutionary nature of the Peace of God normally privilege narrative over documentary sources. In this formulation, the narratives where apocalyptic feelings are almost invariably supposed to be found are relegated to the status of documents when used to 'prove' their objective existence. They are subject to literary analysis only to detect any 'meaningful influence' they might have had.

¹⁶⁰ David C. van Meter, 'Apocalyptic Moments in the Eschatological Rhetoric of Reform in the Early Eleventh Century: The Case of the Visionary of St. Vaast', in Richard Landes, Andrew Gow and David C. van Meter (eds), *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: religious expectation and social change, 950-1050* (Oxford, 2003), p.311.

CHAPTER 4

NATIONALITY AND CHRISTENDOM

‘diversae nationes populorum inter se discrepant genere, moribus, lingua, legibus.’¹

‘Gérard était lorrain, non pas allemand. Il parlait roman, non pas teuton. ... Gérard était le seul des *Lotharienses* qui dépendît de la *parrocia francorum*. Il était ainsi lié également au roi de France, porté par là vers la *Francia* autant que par sa culture.’²

That Regino’s criteria – descent, custom, language and law – match Duby’s so closely may be read as a tribute to the monk’s perspicacity, as well as to what Clifford Geertz once called, ‘the stultifying aura of conceptual ambiguity which surrounds the terms “nation,” “nationality” and “nationalism”’.³ This is true at the best of times, let alone for the case of someone who crossed and recrossed so many frontiers as Gerard of Cambrai. The complexity can be seen, for example, in the issue of language to which both Duby

¹ Regino of Prüm, *Epistula ad Hathonem archiepiscopum missa*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, *Reginonis ... Chronicon*, MGH SRG L (Hannover, 1890), p.xx. Regino gets his language from Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* I:1, but the emphasis is different. Where Caesar differentiates various Gauls by their institutions (or, better, customs) and laws, Regino provides an overall definition of any *natio* which includes these but adds descent. Regino’s point is that this variety has crept into the practices of the universal church.

² Georges Duby, *Les trois ordres*, in *idem*, *Féodalité*, pp.473-74. Duby’s comment is a reaction to the title (and only the title) of Theodor Schieffer’s 1937 article: ‘Ein deutscher Bischof’. The article itself betrays not a hint of the ‘passion politique’ of which Duby accuses Schieffer (*Féodalite*, p.473), instead arguing that Gerard was politically, not in descent, language or ‘culture’, part of the *Reichskirche*, a point Duby accepts. The title was almost certainly imposed on Schieffer as a sop to the Nazi hierarchy. Compare the content of Schieffer’s article with that of the first in the volume (and journal): Wilhelm Engel, ‘Deutsches Mittelalter. Aufgabe und Weg seiner Forschung’, *Deutsches Archiv* I (1937), pp.3-10. It is not only Duby who misconstrues Schieffer; see Barthélemy, *L’an mil*, pp.440, 451. My thanks to Peter Johanek for his comments on this matter.

³ Clifford Geertz, ‘The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States’, quoted in Vincent P. Pecora, *Nations and Identities: Classic Readings* (Oxford, 2001), p.281, first published in Clifford Geertz (ed.), *Old Societies and New States: the Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York, 1963), p.106.

and Regino refer. While Duby is almost certainly right to say Gerard's first language was French, his time at the imperial court probably meant he could in fact speak German and of course his language of office was Latin. Nor is it clear what language or for that matter descent have to do with Gerard's culture, a culture that Duby defines in historical-political terms as Carolingian.⁴

Yet such connections are key to Duby's thesis elsewhere in his *Three Orders* book. Duby's analysis of Gerard's statement on the three orders of society depends on this identification of the bishop as essentially 'inclined' (*porté*) towards France,⁵ although by 'France' is meant the old Carolingian *Francia*. For Duby, Gerard, as well as Adalbero of Laon, were 'tous deux carolingiens, les plus carolingiens de tous. Par les racines de leur race. Mais aussi parce que la province ecclésiastique de Reims ... constituait le cœur de la *Francia*, du pays de Francs.'⁶ The province of Rheims was Francia's 'cultural store-house' and 'academy of Frankish political forms', and it was its bishops who were the conservators and schoolmen.⁷ This is the significance of Duby's insistence on the western 'gravitation' of Gerard: if Rheims is part of the Frankish

⁴ What is *meant* by 'Carolingian culture' is another question. Duby implies it is conservative and secular.

⁵ The translation is Arthur Goldhammer's: Duby, *The Three Orders*, p.17; henceforward: Goldhammer (tr.).

⁶ Duby, *Les trois ordres*, in *Féodalité*, p.472; Goldhammer (tr.), p.16.

⁷ '...la politique des autres rois francs, ceux de l'est, ceux de la Germanie, établissant des clercs lorrains dans les évêchés de Reims, de Cambrai, de Laon, avait visé précisément à ressaisir cela [i.e. the province of Rheims, not, *pace* Goldhammer, the see of Metz], à ramener à soi de cette réserve de culture. Voyons dans les cathédrales de Cambrai et de Laon comme dans celle de Reims les conservatoires des formes politiques franques. Dans leur magasin de livres restait plus qu'ailleurs vivante, exprimée dans le latin des rhéteurs, le mémoire de ces formes. Il appartenait aux évêques de ces cités d'entretenir ce souvenir, de s'en inspirer pour aider, par leurs discours, au bon gouvernement des royaumes', Duby, *ibid.*, p.473; Goldhammer (tr.), pp.16-17. The quote comes just after that about Adalbero and Gerard's Carolingian 'roots' and just before the discussion of Schieffer.

tradition, and the provincial bishops gather round the Capetians, then the French kings and not the German become the inheritors of this tradition, whatever the latter's efforts.⁸

At the same time as their being Carolingian on the other hand, Duby argues that Adalbero's and Gerard's explications of the three orders can only be understood as reactions to three ideological threats, and one social: heresy (or more specifically eschatological heresy), the Peace of God movement and Cluniac monasticism in the ideological case, the 'feudal revolution' in the social. The ideological threats have been examined elsewhere in this thesis, so here I will concentrate on the social. For Duby and many of the mutationists, the turn of the millenium saw a decay in public power, linked to the decay of royal power under the early Capetians. Public powerlessness in turn led to more generalised lawlessness, followed by the fossilisation of private interests into the feudal system of the central and later Middle Ages. The key dichotomy used here is, of course, that between public and private. What mutationist historiography usually means by this is the shift from the public court or *mallus* which allegedly operated

⁸ 'Titulaire en fait de deux sièges épiscopaux dont l'un [!] était royal, Gérard de Cambrai-Arras appartenait – moins étroitement sans doute qu'Adalbéron de Laon – au cercle de ces évêques gravitant autour du roi capétien, qui, dans leur fonction d'« orateurs », se relayaient, l'environnant d'un discours moral ininterrompu, ou plutôt dialoguant avec lui.' Duby, *ibid.*, p.474. That Duby is thinking in terms of French cultural centrality, or even superiority, is demonstrated by his reference to Metz being 'la pointe aventurée vers la sauvagerie austrasienne', presumably referring to Franconia. The portrait of Anglo-Saxon England is also telling. Alfred's Wessex is described as, 'plus primitif, moins dégagé des structures tribales, moins vaste surtout que le royaume des Francs de l'Ouest', although it also had 'un système cohérent de taxations, de réquisitions militaires et, davantage, un système emboîté d'assemblées', Duby, *ibid.*, p.562, Goldhammer (tr.), p.100. Precisely how the latter attributes fit primitive near-tribalism is not explained and nor was Wessex very much smaller than Duby's 'cultural conservatory' of Rheims, Cambrai and Laon. More generally, Anglo-Saxon pilgrims went to Rome, 'par Boulogne, Cambrai, Laon, Reims. Passant par ces pays moins sauvages, ils regardent, ils écoutent, ils admirent. De retour, ils racontent', Duby, *ibid.*, p.563, Goldhammer (tr.), p.101. Here the 'heart of Francia' becomes the cultural heart of Anglo-Saxon England as well. (Although note that Adalbero of Laon and Gerard of Cambrai are described as 'en retrait' in comparison to Aelfric and Wulfstan when it comes to the elaboration of the three orders scheme: Duby, *ibid.*, p.571, Goldhammer (tr.), p.108).

outside the interests of any particular lord to a private one where the lord's interests were dominant. Linked to this shift is supposed to be a change in peasant status vis-à-vis the lord, from free to unfree and a concomitant disappearance of the category of slave.

There is much to debate in this conception of public power, but this is not an issue I wish to enter into yet. Instead, I wish to concentrate on a figure who only plays a peripheral role in such a historiography: the king. His odd absence is partly a result of methodology: mutationists emerged from the *Annales* school, producing local studies 'from below' of areas often far beyond royal control.⁹ But the king is the person from whom the public power is supposed to derive. The mutation is supposed to have occurred from a Carolingian public order and it is not for nothing that it is the two King Charleses, Charles the Great and Charles the Bald, who are recalled in modern historiography by the word 'Carolingian'.¹⁰ Bloch understood this and thus started his first feudal age in the tenth century after the alleged disintegration of royal power. In order to freight the change in vocabulary in the eleventh-century charter evidence with the significance they wish, the mutationists are required to postulate a survival of this order at county level until then. It is nonetheless unclear on what basis this continuing comital authority is said to have rested, or why comital authority should have given way to its territorial successor so late if there had long been no kings to stand above the

⁹ The three most significant contributions to the debate, Duby's original work, Bournazel's conclusions on the end of the free peasantry and Toubert's on *incastellamento*, are on *Bourgogne*, Catalonia and Latium respectively. The strongest *Annales* challenge to the mutationist thesis has come from Dominique Barthélemy, working on the Vendôme, an area much closer to royal influence. But note that André Debord, working on the Charente, also identifies a mutation but attributes it, exceptionally, to strong royal government.

¹⁰ The medieval word *karlinger* refers to Charles the Bald, not Charlemagne, just as Lotharingia refers to Lothar II; see Brühl, *Deutschland – Frankreich*, pp.94-99.

counts.¹¹ Thus the mutationists' model is not quite so far removed from high politics as might be expected from a school that so resolutely concentrates on the local and the social. This becomes quite clear when we look at the order with which this conception is implicitly, if only rarely explicitly, compared: that of the Empire (comparisons with England are even rarer and generally tangential). There is no particular reason why the social reasons adduced for French disintegration, such as *incastellamento*, should not or would not have taken place in Germany (or England). On the contrary, Henry I is known, perhaps in imitation of Alfred the Great, to have encouraged the construction of fortifications.¹² Where the French versions differ is in their lack of authorisation, authorisation that is supposed to come from the king and his appointed agents, the bishops, dukes and counts. It is therefore the weakening of royal power and of the royal ability to replace office-holders and control the exercise of regional power that still informs the *mutation féodale* model.

Instead of a royalist centre which was not available to him, Duby could only appeal to culture and nationality. Instead of actors manoeuvring in response to specific, current situations, we are presented with a vague attitudinal shift of which individuals are representative. Here people are cyphers rather than agents. Nationality, meanwhile, is envisaged along royal lines of French/German: in his critique of Schieffer, Duby uses Gerard's Lotharingian provenance not as an opportunity to examine Lotharingian identity but to prove that he was not German. Such a reading clearly does no justice to the realities of the time.

¹¹ For a critique of Duby's view of public power in the mid-tenth century, see F.L. Cheyette, 'Georges Duby's *Mâconnais* after fifty years: reading it then and now', *Journal of Medieval History* XXVIII (2002), 304-314.

¹² W. Erdmann, 'Die Burgenbauordnung Heinrichs I.', *Deutsches Archiv* VI (1943), 412-41.

This is not to say that the question of nationality is irrelevant. While there may have been no French or Germans in the modern sense of the terms, there were certainly Franks, Bretons, Flemings, Saxons, Burgundians and so forth, as well as of course Lotharingians. Nor were these simply geographical denominators. Rather, the appeal to nationality as an explanatory tool is also respectably early medieval. Recently it has been said that, ‘Distinctions of ethnicity ... weighed heavily’ with Thietmar of Merseburg, for example, and that his ‘mental landscape was populated, *inter alia*, with treacherous Italians, feckless Greeks, capricious Lotharingians and stubborn Poles... Bavarians were fine, but travelled poorly.’¹³ Yet while the various nations themselves were defined independently from considerations of which monarchy those nations belonged to, their traits were conceived of in political terms. Thus Gerbert of Aurillac seems to have agreed with Thietmar about the Italians, at one point saying he ‘dare not rely on the trustworthiness of [his] knights because they are Italians’,¹⁴ yet the context for Gerbert’s remark is that of bringing his complement of Bobbio troops to Saxony, and so is clearly linked to political tensions about the role of Italians in the wider imperial polity.¹⁵ Thietmar’s own remarks on ‘the unstable character of the Lombards’ introduce a reference to Arduin of Ivrea’s expulsion of Leo of Vercelli after Henry II’s departure to Germany in 1014.¹⁶ That Thietmar ascribes one character (*mens*) to the

¹³ David A. Warner, *Ottonian Germany. The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001), pp.40-41, with references.

¹⁴ ‘credere me non ausim fidei meorum militum, quia Itali sunt’, Weigle, *Briefsammlung*, no.91, p.119; the translation is from Lattin (tr.), *The Letters of Gerbert*, p.137. At the time, Gerbert was abbot of Bobbio.

¹⁵ It is unclear where they were intended to be used. There was an eastern campaign in 987 (the letter dates to between September 986 and January 987: Weigle, *ibid.*, no.91, p.118), and Gerbert mentions the possibilities of campaigning in Italy or against Louis: *idem*, no.91, p.120. Louis’s death in May 987 precluded military action anyway.

¹⁶ ‘Dominicam resurrectionem imperator in Papia civitate celebrans instabilem Longobardorum mentem caritate cunctis exhibita firmavit. Dehinc sedatis tumultibus universis reversus est ab Italia; et Hardvigus

many Lombards is, by the way, good evidence in itself of medieval thinking in 'national' terms.¹⁷ The reference identified by Warner as being to 'capricious Lotharingians' is more difficult to interpret, quite apart from the fact that it does not mention Lotharingians by name, but only 'westerners'.¹⁸ While the term 'varias...mentes' can be read in Warner's manner, where the phrase would mean 'changeable minds', it could also just mean 'differing opinions' and instead of being a attribution of national character would then simply be a comment on how divided the Lotharingian polity was over whatever issue was in question. The reference is to Summer 1009 and Henry is known to have been near the border of Franconia and Upper Lotharingia in July,¹⁹ so presumably Thietmar is referring to the rebellion of the Luxemburger Duke Dietrich of Upper Lotharingia, Archbishop Adalbero of Trier, Bishop Dietrich of Metz and Henry of Luxemburg, duke of Bavaria.²⁰ However we interpret this specific phrase on the other hand, it is clear from what follows that Thietmar sees the Lotharingians as such as being accustomed to rebellion. Here, the political liminality, if not ambiguity, of Lotharingia and the personal animosities of the

ob hoc admodum gavisus Fercellensem invasit civitatem, Leone eiusdem episcopo vix effugiente.

Omnem quoque hanc civitatem comprehendens iterum superbire cepit', Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VII:(3), pp.398-491. Note that unlike Gerbert, and for that matter Warner, Thietmar does not here use the word 'Italian'.

¹⁷ For a further discussion of the differences between medieval and modern 'nationalisms', see below, pp.231-45.

¹⁸ 'Rex inde [i.e. from Magdeburg] progressus varias occidentalium mentes probare et, ne solito commoverentur, sedare temptavit. Quos nonnulli iniusticiam dominorum suorum pati nolentes laudant, nos autem quasi ignavos econtra vituperant.' Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI:48, pp.334-35. Warner mistranslates the second sentence. It is not Thietmar who is denouncing the rebels as cowards (although he goes on to characterise them as self-serving), but their supporters who brand Thietmar as such; see Warner, *Ottonian Germany*, p.271.

¹⁹ Henry is to be placed at Frankfurt and Mainz on or about 6th July: *MGH DD III*, nos. 200-204, pp.234-40.

²⁰ *Regesta Imperii II*, 4:1, no.1716a; Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II. (1002-1024) Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg, 2000), pp.194-95.

Luxemburger toward the new king are merged into generalised character traits, thereby providing Thietmar with an opportunity for one of his moralising sermons.²¹ Although it has long been recognised that aristocrats claimed a kind of ‘right of resistance’, and the ritual aspects of such actions have lately been researched, it is unusual to have an explicit argument for it preserved.²² What the argument and Thietmar’s rebuttal are able to do nevertheless is point up how we are to understand a comment of Widukind’s. At one point Widukind calls the Lotharingians ‘an unwarlike race of men’, which implies cowardice or feebleness, and at another, in reference to Archbishop Bruno of Cologne being made duke of Lotharingia, the ‘untamed race of Lotharingians’, which implies violence.²³ Thus just as for Thietmar what some praised as a refusal to be tyrannised was in fact decadence, so for Widukind the Lotharingians could be unwarlike and therefore contemptible not for any refusal to fight but because their violence was undisciplined by authority.²⁴

²¹ The subsequent discussion begins with the words, ‘Sunt plerique...’, which implies that his comments apply more generally than just Lotharingia.

²² Although Fritz Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie* (Münster, 1954), works from outdated assumptions of ‘Germanic law’, his work is still the best overview of the subject. Timothy Reuter, ‘Unruheftung, Fehde, Rebellion, Widerstand: Gewalt und Frieden in der Politik der Salierzeit’, in Stefan Weinfurter (ed.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, vol.3, *Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier* (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp.297-325, also deals with the reign of Henry II. For the ritualised aspects of rebellion, see in particular the articles collected in Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997); although Althoff deals explicitly only with dispute resolution and ritual, in practice he concentrates on rebellions against the ruler.

²³ ‘generi hominum inbelli’, Widukind of Corvey, *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, G. Waitz and K. A. Kehr (eds), *MGH SRG LX* (Hanover, 1904), II:15, p.80; ‘Quem [i.e. Bruno] cum rex prefecisset genti indomitae Lothariorum, regionem a latronibus purgavit et in tantum disciplina legali instruxit, ut summa ratio summaque pax illis in partibus locum tenerent.’, *idem*, II:36, p.97. Ruotger calls the Lotharingians *indomiti* in his *Vita Brunonis*, see below, p.202, n.46.

²⁴ Note that this is different from Widukind’s characterisation of the Saxons, to whom he also applies the word *indomitus* [*Res Gestae*, I:9, p.14] and even *indomibilis* [*idem*, I:10, p.15], but in the context of the Saxons’ coming supercession of the Franks. There is no suggestion that they are unwarlike; quite the

The characterisation of the Lotharingians that Widukind and Thietmar to some extent share is flatly contradicted by the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, as we shall see, but the political basis to the attribution of national characteristics remains clear in this text as well. According to the *Gesta*, Gerard is able to force Walter the Younger to take an oath of loyalty. The oath is witnessed by, amongst others, King Robert the Pious, Bishop Harduin of Noyon, Baldwin IV of Flanders and Odo II of Blois, which is consistent with an alleged (by the *Gesta*) earlier claim of Walter's father that he had 'friends and relatives' at the West Frankish court.²⁵ The text of the oath is especially interesting:

'Fidelitatem sicut tibi promisi adtendam, quamdiu tuus fuero et tua bona tenuero; et postpositis Karlensibus custumiis, talem honorem tibi observabo, qualem Lotharienses milites dominis suis et episcopis. Et si quid contra te peccavero et ex parte tui de satisfactione facienda monitus fuero, talem iustitiam tibi, nisi mihi indulseris, faciam qualem supradicti Lotharienses milites suis dominis et episcopis faciunt.'²⁶

At first sight, the oath is a feudal one, linking 'fealty', belonging to the lord and holding lands from him. The comparison between lords and bishops is also noteworthy. Yet this act certainly did not create a new relation between Walter and Gerard – the latter was one of Walter's lords anyway purely by virtue of being bishop, oath or no oath.²⁷ Nor is the relationship a positive one of client and patron; quite the opposite, the oath is

contrary, the connotations are here much closer to our 'indomitable', and possibly to the opinions of those Lotharingian sympathisers Thietmar cites.

²⁵ 'amicos et propinquos in domo regia', *GeC*, I:99, p.442.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III:40, p.481.

²⁷ When Erluin arrives at Cambrai, he finds, 'bona antecessoris sui Rothardi a Waltero et ab aliis, qui milites aecclesiae esse deberent, vastata', but it is unclear whether Walter is to be included with the *milites aecclesiae* or not, or even what the latter's precise status might be: *Ibid.*, I:110, p.449.

necessary precisely because Walter had not acted as he should have and even had previously given hostages as a (failed) guarantee of his good behaviour.²⁸

More relevant to our interests here is the contrast drawn between the 'Karlensian customs' and how Lotharingian *milites* behave. At a surface level, this distinction may be interpreted in legal terms, specifying that Walter is to come under Lotharingian rather than French or West Frankish law. What is still unclear is precisely how such obligations binding lords and men differed as between France and Lotharingia. The famous letter written by Fulbert of Chartres on behalf of one of the witnesses of this oath, Odo II of Blois, to another witness, his king Robert the Pious, does not help to clarify the issue. Here Odo, through Fulbert, asks Robert what he had done wrong to justify Robert's having taken away the *beneficium* which he had inherited and Robert had given him. Odo claims to have had a right to it by birth, and that his inherited claim meant that Robert could not simply take it away at will. Odo cites (although, in his case, rejects) failure to perform *servicium* as a possible reason for confiscation, and also justifies any offence against the king by claiming his right to defend his *honor*.²⁹ Walter

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III:2, p.467 and III:45, p.482.

²⁹ 'Sed de te, domine mi, valde miror, qui me tam prepropere causa indiscussa tuo beneficio iudicabis indignum. Nam si respiciatur ad condicionem generis, claret Dei gratia quod hereditabilis sim. Si ad qualitatem beneficii quod mihi dedisti, constat quia non est de tuo fisco sed de his quae mihi per tuam gratiam ex maioribus meis hereditario iure contingunt. Si ad servicii meritum, ipse profecto nosti donec tuam gratiam habui quomodo tibi servierim domi et miliciae et peregre. At postquam gratiam tuam avertisti a me, et honorem quem dederas mihi tollere nisus es, si me et honorem meum defendendo aliqua tibi ingrata commisi, feci hoc lacessitus iniuriis et necessitate coactus.' Behrends, *The Letters and Poems*, no.86, pp.152-54. Behrends notes Odo/Fulbert's playing here and later in the letter on the word *honor*'s 'double meaning of benefice and respect': *idem.*, p.154, n.3. But the word has a triple meaning, since it also refers to an office, in this case the counties of Meaux and Troyes: M. Bur, *La formation du comté*, pp.157-58. What seems to be at issue here is to what extent lands attached to such offices were heritable: see Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals. The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), pp.134-35, *contra* the traditional, 'feudal' interpretation: Louis Halphen, 'La lettre d'Eudes II de Blois au roi Robert', in *idem.*, *A Travers l'Histoire du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1950), 241-50.

too had inherited his status from his father but with the bishop's permission,³⁰ and the above oath cites loyalty as a demand that could reasonably be expected of someone who belonged to the bishop and held his lands. Thus the border between West Francia and Lotharingia seems to have made no discernible difference in attitudes towards loyalty and land-holding. The issues and standards were the same. What then were the Karlensian customs and what was the honour of the Lotharingian *milites*? Instead the difference alleged in the oath formula between Karlensians and Lotharingians apparently lay in the ability to keep to these standards which they had in common, not in any material difference between those standards as such.

We can see this in the *Gesta*'s depiction of the Karlensians. The *Gesta* stand near the beginning of the use of the word 'Carolingians' and its derivatives for what would be the French, and it is worth examining the few previous and contemporary uses to see what the term's field of meaning might have been. I know of four other tenth- and early-eleventh-century authors who use the name: Widukind of Corvey, Notker the German, Brun of Querfurt and Thietmar of Merseburg in probable chronological order. Widukind's *Res gestae Saxonicae* uses variations of the word *Karolus* to designate both the Carolingian family and the West Franks. The most interesting use comes in the

³⁰ 'Interea Walterus castellanus gravi langore correptus, facta legatione, episcopum precatus est ut filio suo Waltero terram suam beneficiaret, eique filius salvo usu paternae hereditatis militaret', *GeC*, I:117, p.453. Although Walter the Elder here refers to 'his land' as what the bishop (at this point Erluin, Gerard's predecessor) should 'benefice' his son with, the case is again mixed up with that of an office. Originally, the elder Walter had promised to help the bishop, then Tetdo, against John, 'qui majordomatu ceteris prestat in urbe sub pontificali auctoritate', but only if Tetdo 'filio suo aequivoco [i.e. Walter the Younger] quicquid Johannes tenebat beneficiaverit, eumque vice Johannis adsciscere voluerit'. When Walter then went back on 'verbis predictae promissionis fidem', John complained that, 'possessiones suas alieno herede pervasas' and harassed Tetdo so much that the latter, 'tantumdem paene beneficii ei restituit': *idem*, I:93, p.439. Here successive episcopal grants of lands and office, as well as the principle of hereditary right, allowed conflicting claims and sowed confusion in the relationships between the actors. John subsequently disappears from the record.

context of Widukind's claim that Odo of West Francia had offered the crown to Arnulf in 888, but kept it by grace of the latter: 'For this reason there is a struggle to this day [967/8] over the kingdom between the family of the Charleses (*Karolorum stirps*), and the descendants of Odo, as well as a dispute between the kings of the Charleses and of the eastern Franks (*regibus Karolorum et orientalium Francorum*) over the kingdom of Lothar.'³¹ Within one sentence therefore the meaning of *Karoli* (in the plural) has shifted from the more restricted referent, that of the Carolingian family alone, to the West Franks as a whole, and does so as Widukind's interest moves from internal West Frankish to 'international' politics regarding Lotharingia.³²

The examples from Brun and Thietmar are similar because they both refer to the retaliatory invasion of the West by Otto II in 978, after King Lothar of West Francia had sacked Aachen. Brun, writing his *Vita* of St Adalbert of Prague in 1004 or 1008, uses the term *Karolini Franci* here, just after describing Otto's war against Duke Mieszko, where the *Theutones* are said to humiliate the Poles (*Polani*).³³ Similarly

³¹ 'Unde usque hodie certamen est de regno Karolorum stirpi et posteris Odonis, concertatio quoque regibus Karolorum et orientalium Francorum super regno Lotharii.' Widukind, *Res Gestae*, I:29, p.36.

³² The two other occasions where Widukind uses the word refer to the Carolingian family and the western kingdom respectively, see *ibid.*, I:16, p.21: 'Ultimus vero Karolorum apud orientales Francos imperantium Hluthowicus [the Younger]...', and *idem*, III:2, p.88, where Widukind describes how in 946 Otto I 'vero in Galliam proficiscens expeditionem, coacto apud Cameracum urbem exercitu, festinat intrare regnum Karoli, vindicandae causa iniuriae generi sui Hluthowici [IV]'. See Herbert Backes, 'Dulce France – Suoze Karlinge', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Tübingen, XC (1968), pp.35-36.

³³ 'Actum est bellum cum Polanis; dux eorum Mesico arte vicit; humiliata Theutonum magna anima terram lambit; Otto pugnax marchio [i.e. Margrave Hodo of the Saxon Ostmark] laceris vexillis terga convertit. Alia hora congregatus est optimus populus, et exercitus grandis nimis valde congregiuntur cum Karolinis Francis...', Brun of Querfurt, *Vita secunda sancti Adalberti*, G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS IV*, c.10, p.598. For the date of the source, see the article by Dieter Berg in Kurt Illing and Christine Stöllinger (eds), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin [West], 1978), vol.1, col.1054. For the date of the attack on the Poles, see below, pp.224-25, n.93.

Thietmar, writing in 1012/13, describes Lothar as *rex Karelingorum*.³⁴ As we shall see, the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* also use this phrasing in the context of the 978 encounter.³⁵ Finally, a vernacular version occurs in Notker the German's translation of his preface to Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, probably written before 1000.³⁶ The Latin traces the destruction of the Roman Empire from the death of Boethius, finishing with the rescue of the papacy from the Lombards by Charles, *francorum rex*, who is crowned Emperor, a title which is passed on to his descendants, but then to the *saxonum reges*.³⁷ The German translation (really a very brief paraphrase) simply says that after the Lombards came the Franks, 'whom we now call *chárlinga*', and then the Saxons.³⁸ Apparently the use of the term for the people of the West Franks marks their replacement as Top Nation by the Saxons. More significantly, it is clear that the term is originally German. All the early occurrences – with the important exception of Cambrai – are in German-speaking areas, often by authors who emphasise the Saxon mission as

³⁴ 'Post haec autem imperator omni studio ordinavit expeditionem suam adversus Lutharium, regem Karelingorum...', Thietmar, *Chronicon*, III:8 (6), pp.106-7.

³⁵ See below. Later sources also avail themselves of the phrase in the context of 978, e.g. the twelfth-century Magdeburg Annals: 'Eodem anno Otto imperator cum magno exercitu Galliam, quae dicitur Karlingia, invasit et devastavit.' *Annales Magdeburgenses*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), MGH SS XVI, (Hanover, 1859), p.154.

³⁶ Notker mentions having started his translation career with Boethius in his letter to Bishop Hugh II of Sitten (c.998-c.1017), and he died in 1022 at over 70 years old, see Stefan Sonderegger, *Althochdeutsch in Sankt Gallen. Ergebnisse und Probleme der althochdeutschen Sprachüberlieferung in St. Gallen vom 8. bis ins 12. Jahrhundert* (Bibliotheca Sangallensis 6, Sigmaringen, 1970), pp.80-86.

³⁷ 'Horum autem iugum . post ducentos et quinque annos . ex quo intraverunt italiam . karolus francorum rex abstulit . et auctoritate leonis papae . qui eum ad defensionem apostolicae sedis invitavit . ipse imperator ordinatus est. Post ipsum vero et filios suos . imperatoris nomen ad saxonum reges translatum est. Ergo romanorum regnum defecit . ut paulus propetavit.' Notker the German, *Boethius, «De consolatione Philosophiae» Buch I/II*, ed. Petrus W. Tax (Die Werke Notkers des Deutschen, Neue Ausgabe, vol. 1, Tübingen, 1986), p.5.

³⁸ 'Nâh langobardis franci . tie uuîr nû héizên chárlinga . nâh in saxones. Sô ist nû zegângen romanum imperium . nâh tîen uuórten sancti pauli apostoli.' *ibid.*, p.6.

the inheritors of the Franks, whether vis-à-vis Rome (Widukind, Notker) or the conversion of the East (Brun, Thietmar).

In the *Gesta*, the designation first crops up in the text in reference to the destruction caused to the properties of the abbey of Lobbes during the troubles of the 860s. They are attributed to the *inquietudo karlensium*.³⁹ The next references are to the flight of the rebels Reginar and Lambert to Adalbert of Vermandois *in partes Karlensium* in 976, the surprise attack of Lothar, *rex Karlensium*, on Aachen in 978, and the latter's alleged attempt to take Lotharingia after Otto II's death in 983.⁴⁰ The phrase is, on the other hand, no simple insult; its derogatory connotations are added as we can observe when the *Gesta* use it as a simple ethnic denominator. Robert the Pious is referred to as *rex karlensium* when he allies with Henry II and, listed separately, Richard of 'the men of Rouen', i.e. the Normans, to besiege Baldwin IV of Flanders.⁴¹ Most importantly, Gerard of Cambrai himself, the commissioner of his work, is a *karlensis*, probably on his mother's side.⁴² Yet when Gerard insists on being consecrated at his metropolitan see of Reims, Henry is said to make a point of giving him a 'book containing the consecration [rites] clerics and the ordination [rite] of a bishop, so that, once he had been consecrated according to this [book], he would not have been ordained irregularly by the undisciplined customs of the Karlensians'.⁴³ This

³⁹ The phrase occurs in the rubric: '*Aecclesiam Laubiensem ab inquietudine Karlensium liberavit*.' The phrase *liberare* implies that *inquietudo* is derogatory. Note that the chapter itself gives the reasons for the damage to the properties and *famulantes* of Lobbes as, 'Excescente denique discordia inter Karlenses et Lotharienses', I:55.

⁴⁰ *GeC*, I:96-97, pp.440-41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I:114, p.452.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III:1, p.465; see above, pp.45-46.

⁴³ 'imperator ... largitus est ei librum consecrationes clericorum et ordinationem episcopi continentem, ut per hunc videlicet consecratus, haud fortasse quidem indisciplinatis moribus Karlensium irregulariter ordinaretur.' *Ibid.*, III:2, p.466.

matches perfectly the impression given by the oath formula discussed above.⁴⁴ In any case, the author's dislike, while not absolute, is unmistakeable, and it attributes to the 'Karlensians' precisely the lack of discipline Thietmar and Widukind did to the Lotharingians.

If we were to take the statements at face value, we might want to use them as evidence of the so-called 'tenth-century collapse', or feudal revolution in the *regnum Karoli*. In such a mutationist reading, the reason the German/Lotharingian sources accuse their western neighbours of being unruly and unrulable is that they were in fact unruly and unrulable.⁴⁵ The public order had thus broken down to such an extent and Karlensian customs become so undisciplined that they made a mockery of oaths of fidelity and even episcopal consecrations. In spite or even because of the ease of this reading, we should be suspicious, in particular since the rebelliousness attributed to the karlensians in the *Gesta* in opposition to alleged Lotharingian faithfulness is exactly the same as attributed to the Lotharingians by the Saxon chroniclers Widukind and Thietmar. In this respect it is significant that Widukind describes Brun's pacification of Lotharingia in terms not of the enforcement of a political order, but of the suppression of crime.⁴⁶ Thietmar's preservation of a positive gloss on the Lotharingians' rebelliousness demonstrates that alternative interpretations of such activity were possible. This should alert us, if any alert were necessary, to the fact that we are dealing not with some transparent sociological report but with a prejudice, or politically-

⁴⁴ See above, p.196.

⁴⁵ Although, to be fair, where the medieval commentators adduce moral reasons for the chaos, modern ones appeal to social, economic and military-technological explanations. The suspicion that the latter is but a gloss on the former nonetheless remains.

⁴⁶ Ruotger specifies the trouble as having been in the 'western parts' of Lotharingia: 'Erat namque in occidentalibus Lotharici regni finibus velut indomita barbaries ea, quae videbatur ecclesiae paternae blandimenta exhortationis, terrorem vix sentiens potestatis. Qui si iuri suo permitterentur, suis perversi, sibimet ipsis pessimi viderentur.', Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, c.37, p.236.

motivated slur. The impression is strengthened by an anecdote, certainly apocryphal, in the *Gesta*'s description of Otto II's retaliation against Lothar's sacking of Aachen in 978. On the way back from the siege of Paris, Otto's baggage train was caught by the West Frankish force before it could follow the rest of the army across the river Aisne and slaughtered. In an alleged exchange of emissaries between the two armies on either side of the river, Count Geoffrey Grey mantle of Anjou is said to have suggested that the two kings fight in single combat as a way of saving bloodshed. The *Gesta* author has a count Godfrey (presumably of Ename and Verdun, although this is unclear), indignantly dismiss the suggestion, saying that the East Franks had always heard that the westerners held their king in contempt but did not believe it until he heard it from them personally. The Easterners in contrast would never fail to fight for their king, although of course Otto would defeat Lothar in single combat.⁴⁷ The final comment betrays the concerns of the *Gesta* author. We may debate whether the events of 978 were more of a success for the West or the East Franks, but it is clear that by the early eleventh century Otto II's counterattack was not thought of as an unalloyed triumph. Alpert of Metz relays a prophecy that whoever advised the retaliatory attack on Lothar was doomed to die within seven years, a deadline which, conveniently, had long passed by the time Alpert was writing.⁴⁸ Thus the *Gesta*'s interpretation of the two counts' respective attitudes to their monarchs is clearly deliberately tendentious, just as Thietmar's interpretation of the Luxemburger rebellion was, and the bases for these

⁴⁷ 'Ad haec Godefridus itidem comes cum indignatione: "Semper, inquit, vestrum regem vobis vilem haberi audivimus non credentes; nunc autem, vobismetipsis fatentibus, credere fas est. Numquam nobis quiescentibus noster imperator pugnabit, numquam nobis sospitibus in prelio periclitabitur. Haud tamen eum fore victurum diffidimus, si vestro cum rege conferretur singulari certamine.'" *GeC*, I:98, p.441. Note that although there is no national signifier, just the plural 'you', in the previous chapter describing the attack on Aachen, Lothar is referred to as *rex karlensium* and the looting army as *Galli*.

⁴⁸ Alpert, *De Episcopis*, pp.697-98. The prophecy was in fact included in a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Gesta*: Brussels BR 5468 (971), f.186^v.

readings are the same: specific political opposition, not generalised social disorder. In the same way that the Saxons condemned the Lotharingians because of their ambivalent political allegiance vis-à-vis the East Frankish monarchy, so the *Gesta* author condemns the *karlenses* because of a history of threats from the West against the integrity of Lotharingia as part of the East Frankish realm, and more particularly against the interests of the bishop of Cambrai.

I have tried to show that characterisation along national lines was the result of political opportunism and so cannot be uncomplicatedly read as evidence of genuine cultural difference. Nonetheless, it is obvious that the two explanations are not mutually exclusive. Nationalistic stereotypes could be the product of different, antagonistic political systems. Perhaps the *Gesta* author peppers his text with nationalistic animosities because of his patron's inclusion within and reliance on the East Frankish imperial church. Rather than the result of moments of political opposition such as 978, such attitudes would have been the product of longer-term political structures. Certainly, the bishops of Cambrai are often taken to be a good example of the imperial bishops the *Reichskirche* might produce.⁴⁹ They were royal appointees. Gerard had been a royal chaplain. He wielded the comital rights granted by Henry II to his predecessor Erluin. They fought alongside local dukes and counts for the royal order against unruly aristocrats and rebels such as Reginar and Lambert. The *Gesta* describes Otto I as having stopped in Cambrai in 946 on his way back from a campaign against Hugh the Great and William of Normandy on behalf of Louis IV, to check on how Bishop Fulbert was governing ecclesiastical affairs. In reality Otto had been in Cambrai before the campaign, to gather his army.⁵⁰ There is therefore much fodder here for those who

⁴⁹ See above, pp.24-30.

⁵⁰ Widukind, *Res Gestae*, III:2, p.88 says Otto gathered his army at Cambrai, although the *Gesta* author says he only visited the city on the way back: 'in ipso quidem reditu in urbem Cameracensium castra

would wish to see Gerard and his predecessors as traditional imperial bishops. This has been a particularly tempting interpretation for those working on the regional history in the area, who have found themselves in need of a ready-made wider context.⁵¹

Yet, quite apart from the theoretical objections to the *Reichskirche* model, it also fails in the case of Cambrai on practical grounds. After all, the model relies not just on the idea of the bishop as representative of the king; it also assumes that the king operates on behalf of his bishops, supporting them so that they support him. And we do see individual instances of this in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, such as when Gerard is first appointed and is given Duke Godfrey of Lower Lotharingia and Count Hermann of Eename as escort to ensure his unopposed entry into the city. Yet Cambrai, but for Otto I's visit, remained entirely unvisited by the Ottonians and indeed all the Salians. The real power with whom the East Frankish kings had to deal in the area are the Counts of Flanders, in the early eleventh-century meaning Baldwin IV, and they compromised with them where necessary.⁵² The confused last sections of the *Gesta* close with a pleading letter from Gerard to Henry III, claiming to have been abandoned by the king to the swords of his neighbours.⁵³ In other words, the imperial church system was, for the bishops of Cambrai, very much a one-way system: they served the

metari disposuit, visitaturus quippe, quomodo domnus Fulbertus episcopus in rebus aecclesiasticis se haberet.' *GeC*, I:72, pp.426-27. The *Gesta* author claims that this was the instigation of Otto's diploma granting St-Géry to the cathedral. The AD dating in the diploma, which survives in the original, mistakenly attributes it to 947, when according to the indiction and regnal dates, as well as Otto's itinerary, it dates to 948, see *MGH DD* I, no.100, pp.182-83.

⁵¹ Henri Platelle, 'Les origines', in Pierrard (ed.), *Les diocèses*, pp.26-32; Michel Rouche, 'Cambrai, du comte mérovingien à l'évêque impérial', in Louis Trenard (ed.), *Histoire de Cambrai* (Lille, 1982), pp.30-33.

⁵² Ganshof, 'Les origines de la Flandre Impériale', pp.99-171.

⁵³ 'Triginta annos ducimus, quo in nostra urbe inter pagensium nostrorum gladios vivimus...Nec tamen regiae congruit personae, inpugnatores hactenus pacis familiares habere, et eos per quos viguit procul abicere.' *GeC*, III:60, p.488.

centre but got little in return. The *Gesta* might like to portray Gerard as a familiar of the king, but the reality seems to have been rather different.

It is thus fitting that the attitude of the *Gesta* towards the wider East Frankish/German polity is not as clear-cut as might be expected for such an allegedly *kaisertreu* bishop as Gerard I. The one indisputably bad bishop mentioned in the *Gesta*, Berengar, is an appointee of Bruno of Cologne and is said to be puffed up with pride because of his (unspecified) kinship with the Ottonian royal family. He acted, continues the author of the *Gesta*, in contravention of custom, and is said to have been so wild that he seemed to his people have been a barbarian in his manners, not only in language and country.⁵⁴ The ‘citizens’ – presumably elements of the free, urban population, probably of high standing⁵⁵ – rebelled but were cowed into submission with the help of Count Arnulf I of Flanders and forces gathered from Archbishop Bruno of Cologne. Later, in vengeance for his humiliation, the bishop had them quite brutally massacred even though they took refuge in the suburban community of canons of St-Géry, an act for which Gaugeric later beat Berengar to death in his sleep. In apportioning blame for the disturbances, the author of the *Gesta* finds himself caught between Berengar’s manifest failure to control the diocese and his legitimacy as an imperial appointee. He blames the problems, however great, no more on the insolences of the bishop than on those of the citizens, who had, he heard, always been disobedient and rebellious towards all their bishops.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ ‘Hic etiam tantae feritatis extitisse dicitur, ut non modo lingua et natione, sed etiam moribus populo suo barbarus esse videretur’. *Ibid.*, I:80, p.431.

⁵⁵ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, p.184.

⁵⁶ ‘Quod autem tantas infestationes edebat, quod tantas inquietudines irrogabat, hoc nimirum non potius episcopi, quam insolentiis suorum civium possumus imputare, quos semper pre ferocitate inobedientes omnibus suis episcopis audivimus atque rebelles existere.’ *GeC*, I:80, p.431.

The only mention the *Gesta* make of ‘clergy and people’ in the context of an episcopal appointment is their enthusiastic welcome of Gerard in 1012. This too must be seen in terms of the problematic nature of Cambrai’s relationship with the wider German polity. Although Henry II is said to want Gerard ordained bishop at the consecration of his new see in Bamberg, Gerard insists on undergoing the ceremony in Rheims, both because there it would be more canonical, and out of love for his homeland. While this of course is in no way anti-royal – on the contrary, the author goes out of his way to emphasise that legates from Rome would have been involved in Bamberg, and indeed ordination there would be ‘more honourable and disciplined’ – it does indicate an alternative claim on Gerard’s loyalty – that is, canon law – no matter how reluctantly he is presented as having given in to it.⁵⁷

Gerard’s loyalty is therefore seen to be divided between the Emperor on the one hand and the *ecclesia universalis* on the other. This ambivalence can be most clearly demonstrated by comparing two accounts of the same incident, one account partially relying on the other, both in works commissioned by Gerard – the aforementioned *Gesta* and the *Vita Autberti*, the latter sometimes (but probably wrongly) ascribed to Fulbert of Chartres.⁵⁸ They each tell the story of how Otto I goes in search of relics for his new archbishopric of Magdeburg, of how he asks the then bishop of Cambrai, also called Fulbert, for the bodies of SS Gaugeric and Autbert, and of how Fulbert hesitates,

⁵⁷ ‘Post haec vero monuit illum imperator, ut secum ad novum episcopium dedicandum, in civitatem videlicet Bavenberg, una proficisceretur, ibique in sua presentia a missis apostolicis multisque coepiscopis sive abbatibus, qui illuc ad encenia templi convenire deberent, ordinaretur episcopus. Qui et si honorabilius et disciplinatus coram regia pompa et Lothariensi sollertia sciret se ordinandum: tamen loci amore, quo nutritus fuerat, captus, a nullo quidem nisi a metropolitano Remensium archiepiscopo se ordinatum iri velle respondit; quippe satis provide ac competenter causam considerans, ne forte videlicet eo etiam ipse consuetudini sedis metropolitanae contraire videretur, quod domnus Erluinus episcopus ob supradictam contentionem, Romae ordinationem susceperat.’ *Ibid.*, III:2, p.466. The quotation continues as cited above, p.201, n.43. Note too that *Gesta* itself is inspired by Rheims; see above, pp.122-23.

⁵⁸ My thanks to Bernard Gowers, at Oxford University, for help on this.

not wanting either to deprive Cambrai of its temporal and spiritual protection or to defy the Emperor's order. Eventually he decides to disinter a different former bishop of Cambrai, Theoderic, and another unknown priest, and pass them off as the relics of Gaugeric and Autbert. Still, Fulbert includes some of Autbert's knuckles in the package so that he will not be guilty of disobeying the Emperor.

This is the account the two texts more or less share (the one in the *Gesta* is a shorter paraphrase of that in the *Vita*). The *Vita Autberti*, on the other hand, the source of the *Gesta* on this point, emphasises how the position of Magdeburg separates the Saxons from the Slavs, and how the relics are intended to fortify the city now that the pagans have just been converted to Christianity and to protect it against foreign invasion and spiritual unrest. The *Vita* also draws a much closer link between Otto's granting of St-Géry to the bishop of Cambrai and his request for relics. Subsequently, Otto places the relics in Magdeburg, according to the *Vita*,

'...sane non sine nutu divini consilii, scilicet ut Cameracensis civitas quae confinium imperii eius a Francis disternat, et Magadaburg, quae alio confinio sub regno eius Sclavos a Germania eliminat, beati viri munitae praesidio, tanquam forti circumdatae muro tuerentur. Iam vero fama huiusmodi totius Germaniae fines occupaverat, quae sanctos Confessores a finibus Gallicis evectos adeo affirmabat, ut nulli incredibile videretur, quod tam celeberrimae opinionis nuncia testabantur.'⁵⁹

The story is rounded off by an account of how this was confirmed when Gerard opened the tomb of Autbert and found everything there except his knuckles. Here the power of the saints not only envelops the two cities in their protection but also surrounds the Empire as a whole, thereby marking out the very space within which those saints' fame grows. People function here only as the medium through which their names acquire geographically defined significance.

⁵⁹ Fulbert, *Vita s. Autberti*, AASS Belgii III (Brussels, 1785), IV:19, p.563.

The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* have a very different emphasis, mentioning nothing about Magdeburg as a missionary see or the Slavs. Instead, after recounting Otto's request and Bishop Fulbert's deception, the *Gesta* author refers the reader to the *Vita Autberti*:

'Quod si quis latius scire desiderat, librum quem Fulbertus doctor karissimus de vita sancti Autberti iubente domno episcopo Gerardo inscripserit, legat. Hoc autem absque Dei pia dispositione contigisse non dicam, cum etiam beatus vir Domini Theodericus hanc remunerationem a Domino et venerationem a populo mereretur, et ne nostra provincia suis defensoribus privaretur; quos etiam si subducere vellet, fateor quidem nullo modo posset. Quem enim sensum cives habituros existimas, si advocatum suum Gaugericum eripi sibi cernerent, per quem felix civitas Cameracus feliciter illustrata, nomen suum propagavit ubique gentium? Immo ne ipsi quidem imperatori, credo, vivi cederent.'⁶⁰

Obviously the two versions have much in common, in particular the insistence that the saints had stayed in the city. One reason for their inclusion in their respective texts must have been to counter claims that the relics were in Magdeburg. But the *Gesta* are quite clearly less interested in the fate of the saints in the rest of the Empire than in their relationship with the city and citizens of Cambrai, and at most with *nostra provincia*, presumably the diocese of Cambrai-Arras. In the *Vita* account the power of the saints is reflected in the expanse of their renown. In the *Gesta*, in contrast, it is revealed by the intensity of their relationship with the inhabitants of the city: there is little sense of any wider Christian community here, and an interest in the wider German polity is distinctly lacking.

If the authorial attitudes expressed here do not fit the *Reichskirche* model, this is not because the *Gesta* are in any way anti-imperial, but because the concept of the *Reichskirche*, like any other centralising model so beloved of German

⁶⁰ *GeC*, I:78, p.430.

Verfassungsgeschichte, belongs in a set of 'imperial' preconceptions and fails to take account of the provenance or the particularity of its sources. The model of necessity homogenises heterogeneous texts and constructs a view from the centre out of information culled from sources from the locality, and often, as with the *Gesta*, from the periphery. In the case of the *Gesta*, there is no internal or external evidence of a court audience, and, if we can read anything at all into the later textual history, it appears to have been created for the religious communities of the diocese itself and their local audiences but for nowhere else. In the work's prologue the author simply tells us that Gerard ordered that as much as possible be discovered about the history of 'our cities Cambrai and Arras' and their bishops and that it be committed to 'memory'.⁶¹ While there certainly may be an implied local audience in the reference to 'our' cities, the key issue is that such a series of events and deeds should not be left untold any longer.⁶² In this world-view, the text exists for its own sake, and no specific audience is necessarily envisioned. That is not to say that the audience is God alone, or that the work is merely undertaken for the glory of God, but simply to say that the audience is considered to be self-selecting, and extends to Christians in general.⁶³ What we have therefore is a work emerging from the periphery that deals with issues of political control, identity and loyalty relevant, or seen to be relevant to all Christians. To this extent the *Gesta* are about the centre, without being of the centre.

A study that has looked explicitly at this problem of peripheral views of the centre is Amy Remensnyder's book on monastic histories, or, as she describes it,

⁶¹ 'Precipiente domino nostro episcopo Gerardo, in quantum vere indagari potuimus, de antiquitate nostrarum urbium, Cameraci videlicet atque Atrebat, sed et de earum quoque pastoribus memoriae commendavimus', *GeC*, Pref., p.402.

⁶² 'non...diutius tot temporum ordinem, tot gestorum seriem conticeri.' *Ibid.*, I:Pref., p.402.

⁶³ Such a view obviously fits closely with my interpretation of the *Gesta* as deliberately episodic to allow for a wider use than *Heilsgeschichte* might otherwise encourage, see above, pp.138-39.

‘imaginative memory’, in southern France, *Remembering Kings Past*.⁶⁴ Remensnyder demonstrates how monastic foundation legends in Aquitaine were formed to make claims to institutional freedom, whether by drawing on a Roman, apostolic or, more commonly, royal past. In particular she emphasises how a cult of royalty was not just the creation of central Capetian propaganda, but was used by these peripheral monasteries for their own local needs, and was only subsequently found and manipulated by an expanding royal power. For our purposes, Remensnyder’s most interesting point is the way in which she breaks down the centre-periphery dichotomy, stressing the centrality of each monastery for itself, and its use of history to make the rest of the world, especially rival monasteries, into its own periphery. In Cambrai as well we have an institution trying to assert its own rights vis-à-vis neighbouring powers by situating itself in the centre of a wider scheme – that of East Frankish/German royal power. By depicting the bishops of Cambrai as representatives of the emperor the *Gesta* appeal over the heads of local custom to a wider world-historical legitimacy, irrespective of how effective royal protection might have been in practice. Nonetheless, this legitimising narrative does not wholly predetermine the *Gesta*’s content. Just as Remensnyder shows how the Aquitanian monasteries employed different legends against different opponents, so we should expect no monolithic story in the *Gesta*, with

⁶⁴ Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, 1995); imaginative memory: p.1. I refer to ‘history’ rather than ‘imaginative memory’ for a number of reasons. Firstly, in the context of monastic history the term ‘memory’ is simply vague, alternately able to refer to the stock of thoughts an individual has about his own past, to those the same individual might have about the institutional past, to the shared beliefs of a group about their past, to the texts which form the institutional history of the community, or to the rituals associated with remembering the dead. Secondly, *all* memory is imaginative. Here ‘imaginative’ seems to be a synonym for false, but given the antiquity of the events being ‘remembered’ their truth value is irrelevant. Thirdly and finally, it is unclear where ‘imaginative memory’ leaves the concept of history, other than perhaps to raise history to the level of ‘true’ memory.

Cambrai's multiple loyalties to secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies and its awkward position straddling the borders of Lotharingia, Flanders and Francia.

The origin legend of the diocese of Cambrai, just like those of the monasteries Remensnyder examines, is formulated, by the second *Gesta* author, in opposition to an ecclesiastical rival: in this case, the abbey of St-Vaast.⁶⁵ Yet Cambrai was a territorial diocese, not a monastery; in fact, it was not just a diocese, but also a city and as such had a Roman origin in addition to a saintly one. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, this opens up a more universalistic outlook. With the precise details of these origins, the author is in fact very cautious, arguing that no-one is sure of the origins of Cambrai or Arras and that this is hardly surprising given that no-one can agree on the origins of so great a city as Rome either.⁶⁶ He tells a story of Julius Caesar defeating one Comeus, leader of the people of Arras, who fought so well out of love of his fatherland, that after his defeat Caesar promoted him to the first rank of his forces. The author is careful to mention that there was a Roman Christian community in the cities, thus providing the contemporary diocese with a Roman precursor, but the Christians are said to have been destroyed by the incoming pagans, specifically the Franks. This sets up the Frankish conversion story and discovery of Cambrai and Arras as wastelands from which the true foundation of the diocese can be dated. What the Roman precedents do help to do, on the other hand, is to include the diocese in the wider narrative of the teleological world-history the author sets out in the first chapter, whereby cities were providentially created to serve as the incubators of the Christian church.⁶⁷ Given the fact that the bishops' hardest struggle was against the castellans of Cambrai itself, this form of salvation history must be read as a claim to control of the city (both specifically of Cambrai and in the abstract).

⁶⁵ For conflicts with St-Vaast, see above, pp.12, 74, n.123

⁶⁶ See above, p.135.

⁶⁷ *GeC*, I:1, p.403.

The inclusion of the city as an external factor in the struggle for legitimacy, whether as site or as we shall see as protagonist in the form of its population exposes a contrast with Amy Remensnyder's arguments. Remensnyder concentrated entirely on rivalries between monasteries, without considering the part played by the laity. This is partly due to her concentration on foundation legends. Such legends, as she so well demonstrates and as can be confirmed with regard to the rivalry between Cambrai cathedral and the abbey of St-Vaast, worked in competition with each other, but in this scenario the laity are dumb audiences reduced to reacting to monastic innovation. The restriction to such foundation legends may allow Remensnyder to compare like with like, but ecclesiastical institutions also existed in competition with sources of authority of a very different order (in both senses of the term) – namely the laity. Traditionally, conflicts between ecclesiastical institutions and lay magnates have been seen in terms of the Church having to make room for the 'realities' of secular power: *l'église sous la pouvoir des laïques*, in the words of one old overview.⁶⁸ More recently, the incorporation of the laity into a *militia Christi* that once only included monks has been seen as an ecclesiastical attempt to civilise the violent energies of the warrior class.⁶⁹ That this class might have its own ideas, and that our ecclesiastical sources might be reacting as much to them as to so-called 'realities' (as if ecclesiastical power was not real!) is seldom considered. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with examining not just the demonisation of lay magnates in the *Gesta*, although there is plenty of that, but the ambivalence with which they are depicted. We see within this ambivalence, I

⁶⁸ E. Amann and A. Dumas, *L'Église sous la pouvoir des laïques (888-1057)*, (*Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* vol.7, Paris, 1942).

⁶⁹ See above, p.143, n.11 and Georges Guby, 'Les origines de la chevalerie', in *idem.*, *Qu'est-ce que la société féodale?* (Paris, 2002), pp.1071-87, esp. pp.1081-87, first published in *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'alto medioevo. Atti della XV Settimana di Studio del Centro italiano di Studio sull'alto Medioevo*, 2 vols (Spoleto, 1968), vol.2, pp.739-61.

wish to suggest, not a reaction to a breakdown in order, but an attempt to reconcile various legitimate claims, ecclesiastical and secular, whose tensions are magnified and thus made visible by the existence of the West-East Frankish border. To begin with, I wish to turn to the site, and sometime protagonist of the bishops' conflicts, the city of Cambrai itself and her inhabitants.

The city in which the Church was to come to fruition was itself a site of competing interests, and although the bishop was ideally a shepherd guarding a docile flock, it was not just Walter who could turn out to be a wolf. The ambivalence towards the citizens of the very city of Cambrai is especially visible regarding the issue of foreign as opposed to local bishops. We have already seen the *Gesta* author's struggle to accommodate loyalty to the bishop with the excesses of Bishop Berengar.⁷⁰ Bishop Wibold is said to have been proposed by the *primores* of Cambrai and assented to by Emperor Otto I. Part of the reason for the *primores*' success in having their candidate appointed must have been that Otto was in Italy at the time. The *Gesta* give Wibold's qualities as being 'as sufficiently steeped in secular as ecclesiastical discipline', although the characteristic that is said to have recommended him to the *primores* was that he was related to them.⁷¹ In the subsequent story, the *Gesta* author's attitude to the *primores* is much more openly hostile. Here, Robert, a monk who was apparently resident in Solesmes (near Cambrai, in the eastern part of the diocese) but a member of the community of St-Denis (presumably the one near Paris), 'possessed by [the lust for] worldly honour', successfully bribes those same *primores* to make him their candidate. Otto is said to refuse their application, not because of Robert's corruption, but because he did not want to set a precedent of the *primores* deciding on the appointment to the

⁷⁰ See above, p.206.

⁷¹ 'ex his [i.e. the *primores*] enim originis claram propaginem trahebat', *GeC*, I:90, p.438.

episcopal throne.⁷² Note that the imperial/local polarisation is not by any means automatic. Wibold's predecessor Ansbert had been a monk in Arras and archdeacon in Cambrai as well as being 'known to the emperor' because he had managed St-Vaast's properties in the district of Betuwe, where the imperial palace of Nijmegen was located.⁷³ Yet for all Ansbert's connections, local and imperial, he is said to have only succeeded in quelling his own *milites* with the help of Arnulf of Flanders.⁷⁴ We shall have cause to examine the depiction of the counts of Flanders in more detail later.

⁷² 'Illo [i.e. Wibold] autem die suae dormitionis cum patribus sortito, quidam Rotbertus nomine, monachus in villa Solemia, quae ab urbe hac octo millibus distat, res sancti Dyonisii procurabat. Qui depositionem episcopi audiens, honore quidem saeculari captus, primates civitatis pretio conveniendos estimavit, et ut illum communi suffragio episcopum sibi ab imperatore fieri postularent, magna largitus eis munera, multo maiora spondit. Qui statim operati legationem imperatori miserunt, et ut sibi quem legerunt pontificem, ipse etiam consentiens dignetur concedere, rogaverunt. Videns vero imperator quod, quia antea Wiboldum secundum suam electionem facili assensu eorum precibus attribuit, ideo etiam admittendi episcopum facultatem suo vellent fortasse arbitrio reservari: cum omni profecto refragatione eorum legationi effectum impertire negavit.' *GeC*, I:92, p.438.

⁷³ 'Sequitur Ansbertus, vir videlicet liberalibus disciplinis eruditus, qui tunc Atrebatensis monasterii aequale monachus atque Cameracensis ecclesiae archidiaconus, postmodum vero pro rebus sancti Vedasti, quas in pago Baduensi praevidebat, imperatori notus, culmen episcopalis cathedrae adeptus est.' *GeC*, I:88, p.433.

⁷⁴ 'Hic autem, ut antecessores jam diximus et ut successores posterius dicturi sumus, graves atque multas injurias ab ipsis suis militibus sustinuit, adversumque eorum contumacias diu contendit. Ad horum itaque insolentias sopiendas, Arnulfum quendam illustrem comitem multis beneficiis conductum sibi adscivit, illoque adjuvante cervicatos superans, aliquandiu quievit.' *GeC*, I:88, p.433. It is however possible that the Count Arnulf referred to here is in fact Arnulf of Valenciennes, mentioned alongside Count Godfrey of Verdun and Ename as a *fidelis imperatoris* in *GeC*, I:95-6, pp.439-40; see Franz-Reinhold, 'Die Marken Valenciennes', pp.234-38 and Ganshof, 'Les origines de la Flandre Impériale', pp.107-8. Although it would be odd that Arnulf of Valenciennes would be said to require being given benefices before he was willing to help the bishop of Cambrai, it is equally odd that Arnulf II (†988), whose authority was nothing like that of his grandfather Arnulf I, would be said to have had so much power over the Cambraian *milites*, especially since it was precisely in the southern part of the county that the crisis developed after Arnulf I's death in March 965, requiring Lothar of West Francia's intervention. What we are in fact likely seeing is a chronological confusion on the part of the *Gesta* author, who seems to conflate the two counts of Flanders, grandfather and grandson. In his *Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium*, Folcuin of Lobbes tells us he was ordained abbot by Ansbert's predecessor Ingrannus at Christmas 965

Wibold's successor, Bishop Tetdo, a Saxon in origin from the community of St-Severinus in Cologne, is said to have hesitated as he took up his post at Cambrai (c.972), having heard of 'the depraved habits and ferocity of the Cambraians'.⁷⁵ He eventually abandoned his bishopric, lamenting having given up on his fatherland and come to live among the barbarians.⁷⁶ The precise circumstances of his flight back to Cologne are confused – the *Gesta* places it shortly after the death of Count Arnulf I of Flanders in 965, which is, as we have seen, impossible.⁷⁷ What interests me here are the references to the barbarity of the Cambraians – numerous references to bishops' problems with their vassals and *milites* demonstrate that it is primarily the local aristocracy, greater and lesser, that is meant. Where we have details this is often put in the context of these individuals having contacts in France. The first thing Erluin, Gerard's predecessor, is said to have done as bishop is to pacify the *milites*, but it required his getting imperial permission to build a castle to prevent others from Laon and Vermandois raiding from the forest of Thiérache.⁷⁸ As soon as Tetdo arrived in Cambrai, we are told, he was given problems by one of his *milites*, John, who had contacts in Vermandois. The Bishop got help from one Walter 'vassal of the castle of Lens' (in the diocese of Arras) in return for making him castellan of Cambrai. Walter

(*MGH SS IV*, c.28, p.69). In the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, Ansbert is said to have ruled five years and Wibold one, and Tetdo is also said to have been appointed by Otto I (†7/5/973), so Wibold must have become bishop in 971/2 and Ansbert in 966/7. Nevertheless the *Gesta* also say that Lothar's 965 invasion of Flanders took place during the episcopate of Tetdo. Thus it looks as if the *Gesta* author has conflated the two Arnulfs either accidentally, or perhaps in an attempt to give a historical explanation to encroachments by the then-current count, Baldwin IV, on Cambrai's territories (or what the author perceived to be Cambrai's territories). For further discussion of the chronology of the end of Tetdo's episcopate, see below, pp.214-15, n.93.

⁷⁵ 'pravos mores et ferocitatem audierat Cameracensium' *GeC*, I:92, p.438.

⁷⁶ 'quid tu patria relicta inter barbaros devenisti?' [Tetdo addressing himself] *GeC*, I:100, p.442.

⁷⁷ See above, p.215, n.74.

⁷⁸ *GeC*, I:112, p.450.

too then turned out to be so bad, that Tetdo had to invite John back. It was Walter, and later his son (and namesake) who would become the greatest thorns in the sides of the bishops of Cambrai. Walter the Elder exploited the fact that Tetdo was 'ignorant of the language of the region' when he extracted 'a great reward' from the bishop by claiming that Cambrai was under threat of imminent attack by King Lothar of France, and pretending to use his 'friends and relatives' in the West Frankish court to change Lothar's mind.⁷⁹ The threat was in fact real – Lothar marched on Aachen in June of that year (978), Otto II retaliated in September, raiding north-eastern France and besieging Paris and while withdrawing in December was pursued by Lothar's forces up to the river Aisne. Whether the deal itself was real, on the other hand, or whether the historical events were retrospectively used, either by the bishops or Walter's son, to explain Walter's seizure of power is impossible to tell.

Interestingly, Tetdo's successor Rothard is said to have been appointed by the emperor, by common vote and by acclamation of the Lotharingians and at the suggestion of Bishop Notker of Liège. Another likely consideration was that he had been trained alongside his primate, Adalbero of Rheims, at Gorze. As well as his nobility and piety, the emperor is said to have believed that Rothard's gentleness of mind could subdue the savagery of the Cambraians.⁸⁰ The *Gesta* author immediately

⁷⁹ 'episcopo, utpote simplici viro et linguae regionis ignaro', *GeC*, I:99, p.441. In 972/3, Otto I 'Tetdonem, sacris moribus strenuum, non modice literatum, primis atque majoribus Saxoniae progenitum, Coloniensis aecclesiae sancti Severini prepositum, licet renitentem, quia pravae mores et ferocitatem audierat Cameracensium, competenter tamen ad pastoralis regiminis sublimavit officium.', *idem*, I:92, p.438, for the date, see pp.215-16, n.74. Tetdo thus also seems to have been a protégé of Bruno of Cologne (†965). Walter's alleged contacts in the West Frankish court are described as: 'amicos et propinquos in domo regia', *GeC*, I:99, p.442. For the fact that this claim seems to reflect real backing for the family in the Western court, see above, p.150, n.29.

⁸⁰ 'Ubi [i.e. at Pöhlde] cum ei [i.e. Otto II] vacatio Cameracensis aecclesiae suggeritur, communi suffragio, et acclamatione Lothariensium, immo et obtentu Nocheri Leodecensium episcopi, Rothardo ex prosapia nobili orto, piis moribus adornato, infulam presulatus impertivit; quippe aestimans illum lenitudine

gives an example of his *lenitudo ingenii* when Rothard had to react against the depredations of Otto, the son of Adalbert of Vermandois, and his building of a castle at Vinchy about four miles outside Cambrai. Rothard contacted Counts Godfrey of Eename⁸¹ and Arnulf of Valenciennes who came to his help with a large, heavily-armed force, led these forces ‘accompanied by his citizens and peasants’ to Vinchy, destroyed it and thereby restored the ‘public peace and quiet’. Nevertheless the *Gesta* author laments that although Rothard was able to bring Otto to heel through a combination of threats and blandishments, he did not have the same success with Walter the Elder, despite having given him many things and increased his possessions with many benefices.⁸² There are a number of threads here: firstly the reference to the Cambraian savagery; secondly the threat from beyond the border, resolved in co-operation with the imperially-appointed margraves of Valenciennes and Eename; thirdly the participation

ingenii sevitas Cameracensium posse pressurum. Hujus doni sublimitate adepta, circa initium quadragesimae commissum gregem visens, urbem petiit; nec multo post ab Alberone Remensium archiepiscopo summa cum veneracione ordinatus est, utpote cum quo amicitiam et familiaritatem a puero tenebat, ex quo videlicet in scholis Gorgiensis monasterii pariter condiscipuli extiterant.’ *GeC*, I:102, p.443.

⁸¹ This is the same as Count Godfrey of Verdun, now known under the name ‘the Captive’ for being captured in the West Frankish taking of Verdun in 985.

⁸² ‘Illo namque id muniente et diversa operositate pertinaciter moliente, sinistro nuncio pontifex excitatus, nec mora, praefatis comitibus Godefrido atque Arnulfo cum aliis Lothariensibus legationem misit, ut, coacto milite, ad destruendum opus sibi inimicum venire festinarent. Qui caute absque comperendinatione sumptis cuneis nocte ad episcopum veniunt, eique auxilium nimis copiosum atque armis munitissimum ferunt. Mane itaque facto, episcopus tanta ope sustentatus, civibus quoque suis atque rusticis comitatus, locum munitionis invasit, castrumque turratum et jam pene perfectum, Deo adjuvante, demolito aggere coaequavit arenis. Hoc ei maximam virtutis gloriam peperit. Dein vero tyrannum modo viribus terrificans, modo muneribus lactans, novissime omnimodo devictum sibi pacavit; sicque pacem et quietem publicam reformans, pene omnium in se benivolentiam, preter Walterum suum castellanum, convertit. Porro iste multas molestias adversus episcopum excitavit, multas inquietudines irrogavit, quamvis ei episcopus multa donasset multisque beneficiis suas possessiones auxisset.’ *GeC*, I:103, pp.443-44.

(however symbolic) of the citizenry and peasants;⁸³ finally the eventual failure to bring Walter to heel.

To whatever extent the description may or may not be true-to-life, what interests us here is the way the various agents, enemies and allies are depicted. The reference to the savagery (in fact, more literally, the cruelties) must be seen in the context of what had happened to Tetdo, but it jars somewhat with the subsequent campaign against Otto of Vermandois (not a Cambraian by any possible definition) and with the support of the citizens and peasants. The cruelties of course refer mainly to those of Walter who had made Tetdo's life in Cambrai unbearable and who was still untamed by Rothard. Thus the city denominator could be used to refer not just to the population of Cambrai as a whole but to the troublesome aristocrats in general, even where the wider population allegedly supported the bishop. The demonstration of power against Otto of Vermandois is of course supposed to contrast with the failure against Walter – they are in fact explicitly contrasted in the effect of Rothard's threats and bribes on the former

⁸³ Precisely what this participation actually meant is difficult to ascertain, assuming it occurred at all. Interestingly, there is no reference to fighting at Vinchy: the verb *invado* has connotations of speed, vigour and taking possession but not necessarily resistance. Therefore the presence of a crowd of citizens and peasants may well simply have been intended to increase the surprise effect of the sudden arrival of a large force that had been nowhere to be seen the day before, thereby helping to ensure the castle would be given up without a fight. Speculating further, we might see something almost liturgical or festive reminiscent of Nirenburg's antisemitic rituals (see David Nirenburg, *Communities of Violence. the persecution of minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996), pp.200-30) in the popular procession to destroy the stronghold of the public enemy, in particular if that stronghold was known to have been abandoned already at the first sign of trouble. Additionally, the sight of an army heading out in the morning may simply have drawn a large crowd of supporters, ghouls and opportunists looking for a chance to loot. In any case, this passage is certainly not evidence of peasant military activity in the alleged manner of the peace militia of Bourges. The traditional view that this latter army was a *Landmilizen* is represented by Hoffmann, *Gottesfrieden*, pp.105-109. But see Guy Devailly, *Le Berry du X^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e* (Paris, 1973), pp.145-48; and more recently, Dominique Barthélemy, 'La milice de Bourges et sa défaite du 18 janvier 1038', in Jacques Paviot and Jacques Verger (eds), *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine* (Paris, 2000), pp.71-81.

and their lack of same on the latter – and more specifically that that failure lay not with Rothard who was able to enforce episcopal authority even on a ‘tyrant’, but with Walter for refusing to bow before the legitimate authority. This legitimacy is demonstrated by Rothard’s co-ordination of powers from the counts, the city and his own resources. That Walter does not recognise this demonises him, but also shows that the demonisation is a function of disloyalty to the bishop as office-holder rather than of personal origin. Cambraians are seen as savage not as a character trait but only insofar as they disobey.

The authority that they are supposed to obey is of course the bishop, but Cambrai did not always have a sitting bishop. It has already been suggested, for example, that the usurpation of episcopal goods which Walter is alleged to have practised before the arrival of Gerard could be seen as an exercising of traditional and perfectly conventional *spolia* rights.⁸⁴ Rothard had not been Tetdo’s immediate successor – there had been a vacancy presumably partly caused by Tetdo’s retreat to Cologne but also, according to the *Gesta*, by the absence of the emperor campaigning against the Slavs.⁸⁵ The *Gesta*’s treatment of this is worth quoting in full:

*Karolus dux*⁸⁶ *causa tuitionis Cameracum ingressus multa mala edidit.*
Quo [i.e. Tetdo] defuncto, multo asperioris pestilentiae causa exoritur,

⁸⁴ See below, p.240.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of which campaign that might refer to, see below, pp.224-25, n.93

⁸⁶ The date of Charles of Lotharingia being granted the duchy of Lower Lotharingia is generally given as 977, following Sigebert of Gembloux: ‘977 ...Ducatus Lotharingiae datur Karolo, fratri Lotharii regis Francorum, multis insuper conducto beneficiis, ut et ipse ab insolentiis desistat, et fratris sui Lotharii motibus obsistat. Filii Ragineri ut pro se viriliter agerent, animati Francorum auxilio et affinitate – Raginerus quippe Hathuudem filiam Hugonis postea regis, Lantbertus vero Gerbergam filiam Karoli ducis duxere uxores – in terra patrum suorum relocati sunt.’ But note that, other than for the date and Reginar and Lambert’s marriages, Sigebert is here reliant on the *Gesta* and on the marriages at least, Sigebert is certainly unreliable: see his *Chronicon*, *MGH SS VI*, p.352, n.59. The date can therefore also be called into question. (The information about the marriages is also included in the excerpt from the *GeC* in the twelfth-century Brussels BR 5468 (971), f.186^v, but Sigebert is probably the source.) Another later source, Hugh of Flavigny, mentions that Charles was exiled by Lothar because of Queen Emma’s ‘protervitas’:

multo tempestuosioribus procellis aecclesia Cameracensium naufragatur.⁸⁷ Siquidem imperator a finibus sui regni procul remotus, super Sclavones quos adversum ierat expugnandos morabatur; relictique principes Lothariensium, quidnam de restitutione episcopi facerent, ambigebant. Jam vero Lotharium regem res Atrebatensis episcopii occupasse audierant, ideoque illum fortasse subita incursione urbem Cameracensium pervasurum esse formidabant. Quare comites, Godefridus [of Verdun and Eename] videlicet, quo dignitate morum alter illustrior, alter non erat consilio prestantior, Arnulfus [of Valenciennes] quoque, admodum sollicitati, Karolum ducem regis Lotharii fratrem, quem Otto imperator multis beneficiis conductum, ut fraternis motibus secum fortior resisteret, citeriori Lotharingiae sub se prefecerat – hunc, inquam, collato utrimque consilio adorsi monuerunt, ut urbem suo pastore orbatam festinanter ingressus, ab incursione fratris immunem, sed a cunctis quoque pervasoribus defensaret, vasallosque ejusdem loci ad fidelitatem imperatoris sacramento et obsidibus constringeret, dum imperator reversurus in patriam, episcopum rediberet. Huic consilio Karolus libenter accessit sed male tractans, non aequae executionis actu libavit. Nam copioso agmine comitatus cum prefatis etiam comitibus in urbem venit; sed tamen, sicuti erat inepti atque tardi ingenii, detestandas usurpationes exercuit, adeo ut raptor potius quam tutor, potius temerator quam observator esse videretur. Unde indignati praefati comites et in iras moti, illo quidem eo loci relicto, ad sua reversi sunt. Porro ille deinceps oportunitatem et gratiam loci atque sufficientiam totius alimenti nactus, uxorem sibi adfuturam esse mandavit, cui in cubiculo episcopi cum tota praesumptione lectum sterni precepit; omnesque opes in usibus episcopi exhibendas in superfluis commensationibus tota effusione consumpsit. Thesaurum aecclesiae dissipabat, prebendas vendebat, immo et aecclesiastici ministerii negotia emptus pretio largiri mercantibus

Chronicon, G. H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS VIII* (Hanover, 1848), p.365. Although Hugh was writing well after the fact, the explanation is plausible. Emma had been accused of committing adultery with Bishop Adalbero of Laon (Richer, *Historiae*, III:66, p.205), and the accuser was most likely Charles (Weigle, *Briefsammlung*, no.31, p.56). In his latest edition of Richer's *Historiae*, however, Hoffmann argues that the Synod of St-Macre at which this accusation was dealt with cannot be dated any more accurately than 977-983; that it took place in 977 is 'hypothetical': Richer, *Historiae*, p.205, n.1. This ignores the (admittedly much later) Sigebert's dating and would mean the appointment in question here may have taken place at any point between 977 and 979.

⁸⁷ The image of the church as a ship (or shipwreck!) is commonplace and recurs in the *Gesta*. It is used most strikingly to characterise the conflicts between Bishop Fulbert (934-56) and Count Isaac of Cambrai: 'Et quia urbs sub diversitate biremis domini agebatur, ea siquidem naufragante aliquando rectores ipsi inter se ortis simultatibus collidebantur. Semper enim inter ministros eorum pro rebus exigendis audiebatur confragosa seditio, semper excrescebat violenta atque gravis utrimque tumultuatio,' *GeC*, I:71, p.426.

usurpabat; sicque totius infamiae sarcinam tamdiu gessit, donec
imperator reversus ad melius restituit.⁸⁸

What is key in the depiction of Charles of Lotharingia here is not that he is a layman who occupies ecclesiastical lands, or even that he is a *karlensis* in either the narrower dynastic or wider 'national' sense of the term. The latter is never mentioned with respect to Charles, and the former is belied by the fact that it is two other laymen, Godfrey and Arnulf, apparently along with other Lotharingian magnates, who invite Charles there in the first place. The measure is clearly depicted as a stop-gap, forced on the Lotharingians by the emperor's absence at a time of threatened invasion, but neither Godfrey nor Arnulf are seen as having acted badly because of their actions' eventual unfortunate results. Nor does there seem to be any criticism implied in the counts' reaction once Charles's 'crass and stupid character' becomes apparent, whereby they simply return to their own estates in pique. The *Gesta* excuses the counts' behaviour by the reference to Charles having come with an enormous force, which also serves to emphasise the importance of the *imperator ex machina* device with which the chapter closes.

Although the condemnation of Charles is not here explicitly linked to the karlensians, the troubles do take place within a context of hostile relations with West Francia. The involvement of Charles of Lotharingia was mixed up with the rebels Reginar IV (later of Hainault) and Lambert (later of Louvain) who, while based in West Francia, claimed their hereditary estates even though their father, Reginar III, had been exiled by Bruno of Cologne in 958. According to the *Gesta*, the estates in question (including Eename and Valenciennes) had been given by Bruno to Godfrey of Verdun and a Count Arnulf respectively, after having passed through the hands first of a certain

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, I:100, p.442.

Richar, then those of the similiary little-known Werner and Raynald.⁸⁹ Reginar and Lambert, meanwhile, had taken advantage of Otto I's death in 973 to make a bid to reclaim their lands (specifically at the fort of Boussoit in Hainault), with, purportedly, support from some individuals within the Empire.⁹⁰ Failing because of opposition from

⁸⁹ 'terramque suam [i.e. Reginar III's] primum Richario nobili viro, sed hoc defuncto Warnero et Raynaldo, quibus etiam defunctis, Godefrido atque Arnulfo comitibus nobilissimis contulit,' *Ibid.*, I:95, pp.439-40. All of the following account is according to the *Gesta*. A closer examination shows that the account is nevertheless not to be trusted. The figure of Richar is otherwise unknown, but a later eleventh-century hand adds the words *duco Godefrido* between the words *primum* and *Richario* in MS Den Haag KB 75 F 15, f.55^v. The name Richar is nevertheless not erased, leading to some confusion on the part of later copyists, and for that matter modern encyclopoedists: see the article by J.-M. Cauchies, 'Reginare', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VII, col.578. The only candidate for a 'Duke Godfrey' c.958 is the same figure who was probably Gerard of Cambrai's grandfather even though he was at that point apparently still only a count in Hainault: see above, pp.40-42. The likelihood that the activity of one of Gerard's ancestors was not mentioned in the first redaction as well as that no other source for the events mentions Godfrey leads to the suspicion that it is an error by the later redactor. Additionally, the handover from Werner and Raynald to Godfrey and Arnulf seems to have been more complicated than that depicted here. The contemporary *Annales s. Iacobi Leodienses minores* (at this point not in Liège itself but in Gembloux; see the University of Ghent website: http://allserv.rug.ac.be/~jdploige/sources/uk_fratabank.html, item A085) mention that in 973, 'Et bellum fuit in Perrona inter Raginerum et Warnerium', *MGH SS XVI* (Hanover, 1859), p.637 (as do the *Annales Leodienses*, G. H. Pertz (ed.), *MGH SS IV* (Hanover, 1841), p.17, but see Bethmann's note b). Sigebert of Gembloux, basing his account on the *Gesta* and the *Annales Leodienses*, mentions that it was at the battle at Peronne that Werner and Raynald were killed: *Chronicon*, *MGH SS VI*, p.351. That this is not just Sigebert attempting to reconcile contrary accounts is confirmed by the *Annales Altahenses maiores*, compiled in the mid-eleventh century but at this point possibly based on the contemporary (but now lost) Annals of Hersfeld, whereby 973 saw, 'Occisus Werinzo, frater eius Reginzo de Lotheringea cum aliis multis a Reginherio et Lantperto', Edmund von Oefele (ed.), *MGH SRG IV* (Hanover, 1891), p.11. The claim of the *Gesta* that Bruno of Cologne (†965) appointed Godfrey and Arnulf is thus false, and the author either did not know of or chose not to mention the battle at Peronne. In the end it is impossible to determine for certain whether these errors are through ignorance or intention. If the latter, it would be a further indication that the *Gesta* author was trying to promote an 'imperial' ideology of loyalty to the Ottonian house, despite the failure of one of Bruno's other appointments, his relative Bishop Berengar of Cambrai; see above, p.206.

⁹⁰ The *Gesta* author describes them as being 'revocantibus quidem quibusdam scelerosis pacem odio habentibus', *GeC*, I:95, p.440. The *Annales Leodienses* and the *Annales S. Iacobi Leodiensis* both record the siege of Boussoit under 974 and that of Mons under 976: *MGH SS IV*, p.17 and *MGH SS XVI*, p.637. The *Annales Laubienses*, *Annales Altahenses Maiores* and Thietmar only record the imperial expedition

Otto II, they allegedly retreated to *partes Karlensium*, where they won the support of Otto of Vermandois and Charles of Lotharingia. The brothers' attack on Mons (also in Hainault) broke on the resistance of the counts Godfrey and Arnulf, but Otto of Vermandois was able to wrest the fortress of Gouy (just inside the Empire across the border from Vermandois) from the latter and use it as a base for attacks against Cambrai.⁹¹ By 979 on the other hand, Otto II had apparently appointed Charles duke of Lower Lotharingia (*citerior Lotharingia*).⁹²

This is the background against which the depiction of Godfrey and Arnulf's selection of Charles to protect the bishopric in the absence of both bishop and emperor is to be seen. Again the chaos of a vacancy is linked with a perceived threat from the West Frankish king, a claim which must be judged with the consideration that the author wrote in the knowledge of the eventual 978 tit-for-tat incursions between Lothar and Otto II. Indeed it was not to be until Christmas of 979, 'after the emperor had recalled his troops from war', that Bishop Rothard would be appointed and February 980 that he would be ordained by his school-friend Adalbero of Rheims.⁹³ Although it

against Boussoit, but not the defence of Mons in which the emperor was not involved: *MGH SS IV*, p.17; *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, *MGH SRG IV*, p.11; Thietmar, *Chronicon*, III:6(4), pp.102-3. The anonymous continuator of Flodoard's annals, on the other hand, writing some time in the early eleventh century after Godfrey of Verdun's death, records the Mons battle in some detail, but entirely ignores the participation of Reginar and Lambert in favour of that of Charles: *Annales. Additum*, *MGH SS III*, p.407.

⁹¹ *GeC*, I:96, p.440. Note that this was not the first time the counts of Vermandois had allied with the enemies of the bishop of Cambrai. It had been to Otto's father Adalbert that the *mayordomatus* of Cambrai John had fled when Tetdo replaced him with Walter; see above, p.198, n.30.

⁹² See above, pp.220-21, n.86.

⁹³ 'imperator revocata manu a bello', *GeC*, I:102, p.443; *Annales Lobbiensium*, G. Waitz (ed.), *MGH SS XIII* (Hanover, 1881), p.235. Precisely which war is being referred to here is problematic. Although it is clearly meant to be seen in connection with the emperor's campaign *super Sclavones* mentioned in I:101, the emperor had not fought the Bohemians since 977 (which is the date Bethmann uses, thereby making the two references into two separate campaigns and the vacancy over two years long). The *Regesta imperii* follow Wilhelm Giesebrecht, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter der Herrschaft Kaiser Ottos II.* (Berlin, 1840), pp.58-59, and link the *Gesta* references with the one in Brun of Querfurt's *Vita s.*

was Otto who had placed Charles in charge of Lower Lotharingia in the first place and it was Godfrey and Arnulf who let him into Cambrai, no word of critique is uttered against either these individuals or the principles of comital and imperial authority that put Charles in the position he acquired. Instead, the blame is put squarely on Charles's own moral failings as he is shown to give in to lust and greed, not to mention stupidity.

Adalberti referred to above, p.199, n.33, to conclude that there was a brief expedition against the Poles towards the end of 979. But more recently, Herbert Ludat, *An Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000. Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreichs und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa* (Cologne, 1971), n.177, see also nn. 314, 149, and, following him, Christan Lübke, *Regesten zur Geschichte der Slaven an Elbe und Oder. Teil II. Regesten 900-983* (Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen Reihe I, Giessener Abhandlungen zur Agrar- und Wirtschaftsforschung des europäischen Ostens 133, Berlin, 1985), no.206a, pp.292-93, see also nos. 180, pp.252-3 and 194, pp.272-74, have revived the argument of Karl Uhlirz, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 127-8, n.29, that the campaign was instead against an otherwise-unnamed group of Slavs. Either way, we are left with a problem of chronology, since the campaign can only have occurred at a relatively brief juncture in November to December 979, seemingly not enough time for the vacancy to have the catastrophic repercussions the *Gesta* author claims. One issue that needs to be clarified is what the author means by saying that Charles of Lotharingia's usurpation only ended when the emperor returned. Otto II is known to have been in Aachen and Nijmegen in June and July 980 (*Regesta imperii*, nos. 814-817), but by then the emperor and Lothar had already made peace, something which is not mentioned in the *Gesta* until *GeC*, I:104, p.444. Instead the return is likely to be a reference to the court at Pödde at the end of 979. In other words, it was not the physical (and military) presence of the emperor in the area of Cambrai that forced Charles of Lotharingia out of Cambrai, but the appointment of a new bishop in the form of Rothard which meant that the Duke no longer exercised rights of *spolia*. Presumably it was Godfrey, Arnulf and perhaps Notker of Liège, who had proposed Rothard, that were responsible for ensuring the new prelate's successful entrance into his see. If the emperor's presence was necessary, a threat of his arrival later in the year of 980 may have been sufficient to dislodge Charles. Rothard is said to have been ordained, 'circa initium quadragesimae' *GeC*, I:102, p.443. In 980 *caput ieiunii* fell on the 25th February and presumably the emperor's movements were known far enough in advance. As for the length of the vacancy, we can either conclude that it was in fact very brief, and either Charles's behaviour was extremely abusive or just exaggerated by the chronicler, or alternatively that his appointment in fact predated Tetdo's death and was instead made because of the bishop's disappearance to Cologne apparently earlier in 979. In the latter case, the *Gesta* author, by attributing Godfrey and Arnulf's decision to Tetdo's death, would be glossing over an essentially illegal action by the two counts.

The *Gesta*'s depiction of the counts of Flanders is ambivalent.⁹⁴ The counts were powerful enough that they simply could not be ignored. Bishop Berengar is said to have looked to Arnulf of Flanders for help against the citizens of Cambrai when they barred him entry. The city of Douai was virtually created by Arnulf and his descendants in the tenth century - the *Gesta* complain about having lost tolls at Lambres (a couple of kilometres upstream of Douai) when the Count of Flanders redirected traffic via his new town.⁹⁵ It has been argued that the future bishop of Paris Azelin, who twice attempted to become bishop of Cambrai, was working for Baldwin IV, since he was (according to the *Gesta*) the count's illegitimate son.⁹⁶ Yet other than the reference to Azelin's parentage, the *Gesta* make little mention of Baldwin's activity after the deaths of either Rothard or Erluin. In the former case, Azelin is supposed to have bought the support of Abbess Sophie of Gandersheim, only to be thwarted by Notker of Liège and Mathilda of Quedlinburg.⁹⁷ In the latter, after Erluin's death, no outside support is

⁹⁴ Note that although Flanders was technically part of the West Frankish monarchy, the Flemings are never referred to as Carlensians but nor are the *flandrenses* ever referred to except in connection with their count. It is never a separate signifier of nationality (once the area is referred to as *Flandrae*: *GeC*, I:82, p.431). This contrasts with the use of *karlenses*, to whom are attributed, as we have seen, national characteristics. These characteristics are attributed to Walter, who is repeatedly depicted in the *Gesta* as enjoying the support of the counts of Flanders. Thus the term Carlensian is again in this context reserved for the enemy, even where that enemy could theoretically qualify for another designation.

⁹⁵ *GeC*, II:21, p.460. See Dietrich Lohrmann, 'Mühlenbau, Schiffahrt', pp.149-92, esp. pp.159-60.

⁹⁶ *GeC*, I:110, p.448.

⁹⁷ 'Post hunc [i.e. Rothard] substituitur Erluinus, qui, aecclesiae Leodecensium archidiaconus, tam et aecclesiasticis quam secularibus negotiis eruditus, qui saepe terendo limina principum, longe lateque emicuit clarus. Hunc Nocherus bonae memoriae episcopus ad Mathildem, cui ipse Erluinus familiaris erat, filiam videlicet Ottonis senis imperatoris, abbatisam aecclesiae Quitinaborch, monuit ire festinanter, ut suo suffragio ad episcopii dignitatem adtingeret. Quidam quoque Azelinus nomine, de Truncinis [Dronghene, near Ghent] villa, Balduini Flandrensium comitis de concubina filius, postea tamen Parisiorum episcopus, Sophiam sororem juvenis imperatoris pecunia adorsus est, ut ejus obtentu pontificii culmen sortiretur. Ab utraque igitur parte imperator pulsatur, sed tamen, Deo disponente, magis alterius rogationi inflectitur. Nam sorore Sophia nesciente Mathildi amitae consenserat, atque Erluino in die solemni sancti Dionisii regimen pastorale commiserat.' *Ibid.*, I:110, p.448-49. Note that this is to be dated

alleged, and Azelin is depicted as acting on his own initiative in sending messengers to Henry II, 'perhaps intending to buy his favour', the *Gesta* author rather disingenuously adds.⁹⁸ By this measure, we cannot necessarily see Azelin as Baldwin's cats-paw. But in addition to Azelin, there had apparently been another applicant, Seiher, Walter the Younger's brother.⁹⁹ Given that the *Gesta* show Baldwin ensuring Walter the Younger's inheritance, it would not be going too far to see their author's refusal to mention the connection any more explicitly as avoiding the issue of Flemish comital attempts to gain control of Cambrai. With both Azelin and Seiher the *Gesta* implies a Flemish connection, either through family or political association, but does not spell it out.

The *Gesta* author's depiction of Baldwin IV's relationship with the monastery of St-Vaast shows that he can never truly hide the complications of Baldwin's dealings with the bishops of Cambrai and instead reinterprets them as an ongoing struggle to build a working relationship with Baldwin, a relationship repeatedly frustrated by the machinations of others. The *Gesta* recount how St-Vaast was run by Fulrad, 'falsely called monk', who provoked discord between Baldwin and Bishops Rothard and Erluin,

to 995, before Sophie's estrangement from Otto III: Käthe Sonnleitner, 'Sophie von Gandersheim (975-1039). Ein Opfer der "männlichen" Geschichtsdarstellung?', in Herwig Ebner, Horst Haselsteiner and Ingeborg Wiesflecker-Friedhuber (edd.), *Geschichtsforschung in Graz. Festschrift zum 125-Jahr-Jubiläum des Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz* (Graz, 1990), p.377.

⁹⁸ 'Ad hoc [i.e. the bishopric] quoque Azelinus ambitiosissime jam dudum anhelabat, quem post Rothardi decessum Sophia favente episcopatus inhiasse prediximus. Qui etiam paulo antequam dominus Erluwinus ex hoc seculo decederet, suae ambitioni consulere estimans, suos imperatori legatos dirigere festinavit, per quos ejus benivolentiam fortasse empturus ad episcopii prerogativam pertingeret.' *GeC*, I:122, p.454.

⁹⁹ Not to be confused with his paternal uncle (*patruus*), also called Seiher, who mediated between Walter the Younger and Erluin shortly after the elder Walter's death and whom the *Gesta* call a 'providus consultor': *GeC*, I:118, p.453.

Gerard's predecessors.¹⁰⁰ Fulrad claimed to have an immunity granted by the seventh-century Bishop Vindician of Cambrai, and sent troops, with Baldwin's agreement, to burn lands in the territory of Arras. Baldwin then recognised Fulrad's crimes, and convened a council of the monks, with Bishop Erluin present. He thereby had the abbot removed in favour first of Heribert, who according to the *Gesta* was a very good man but not a very good manager, and then of Richard of St-Vanne in Verdun, who, again according to the *Gesta*, was wise enough to recognise episcopal authority. Fulrad fled to Archbishop Arnulf of Reims to try to get his position back, but the latter, 'degenerate in mind', took the gifts Fulrad offered him although he had no power to help him. Fulrad died that year in Reims, unrepentant and having lived there disgracefully, doing business with Jews. As well as Fulrad's Reims connections, it should be noted that the author of the *Gesta* incorrectly places this incident only after the conflict between Baldwin and Henry II over the marcher fort of Valenciennes in 1006-7, during which Cambrai had allegedly suffered both from Baldwin and from Henry's Norman allies. The implication is that the cooperation between Baldwin and Erluin is as a result of the former's peace with the Emperor. In reality Fulrad died in 1004; it was Richard who took over in 1008. The *Gesta* therefore reinterpret the events as a parable of Count Baldwin coming to his senses only as 'natural', peaceful relations between Flanders and the Empire are resumed. As a parable this exactly matches the depiction of the cooperation between Robert the Pious and Henry II at Ivois in 1023.¹⁰¹

Baldwin's subsequent relationship with Gerard remains uncertain. The author of the *Gesta* continues to have trouble reconciling Baldwin's influence, which must be dealt with and where possible enlisted on behalf of the bishop, the tensions between the

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion of this incident in relation to its importance for understanding monastic reform, see above, pp.70-72.

¹⁰¹ See previous chapter, pp.168-69.

Count and Gerard, and the figure of the troublesome vassal with French connections. On a positive note, he tells us how Baldwin, Gerard and Leduin, Richard's appointed successor at St-Vaast, reform the nunneries of Marchiennes and Denain. Baldwin is also depicted as eager to help escort Gerard to his new see in 1012. Nonetheless the *Gesta's* author expresses muted criticism of how the pride of the count of Flanders 'used to occasionally' prevent the cathedral of Arras from being as great as it could be 'in modern days',¹⁰² although, as he goes on to tell us, in 1013 Gerard finds many relics next to the altar which produce miracles for around three years after. While Baldwin's haste in taking part in Gerard's *adventus* procession into the city – uninvited – is depicted as a tribute to Gerard, it appears ambiguous in light of the Count's close contacts with the two Walters. On his deathbed Walter the Elder is said to get Baldwin IV, who is apparently in Cambrai to visit the simultaneously dying Bishop Erluin, to promise to help his son, Walter the Younger, a promise that is described in the context of Walter the Elder making his *milites* swear to help his son against the bishop.¹⁰³ This latter Walter takes advantage of the empty episcopal throne to oppress the citizens. This might explain Baldwin's zeal to be seen as supporting Gerard to start with: the support of Richard of St-Vanne and Hermann of Eename may well have forced the Flemish count to distance himself from his ally. In any case, Walter's excuse for his behaviour – that he was afraid of being attacked by Baldwin – is dismissed out of hand by the

¹⁰² 'Illud vero modernis diebus Rudolfus, ipsius ecclesiae thesaurarius, consilio domni Gerardi episcopi ampliavit; essetque locus venerabilis et minus indigens, nisi fastuosa Flandrensium comitis excellentia, quae iuxta supereminet, adversari aliquando consuevisset.' *GeC*, II:13, p.459.

¹⁰³ 'Ille [i.e. Walter the Elder] autem quamvis morti, morbo inmedicabiliter fatigante, propinquus, tamen nullo modo emendacionis resipuit, suosque milites ad se vocans, ad fidelitatem sui filii sacramento constrinxit; monens quippe et cohortans ut, si forte moreretur, filium suum tota deditione cum fide et benivolentia observarent, adversusque episcopum pertinaciter sustentarent. Denique, intercedente aliquo temporis, episcopum quoque infirmitate laborantem Balduinus comes visitare advenerat, quem Walterus ferme moriens auxilio sui filii precibus attraxerat.' *Ibid.*, I:117, p.453.

Gesta. What this detail does reveal on the other hand is that the tension between the Count of Flanders and the Bishop of Cambrai was well known enough to at least purport to be a good excuse for Walter's behaviour. The reason the *Gesta* author gives for rejecting it is not that it is incredible but that if Walter were unselfishly interested in protecting Cambrai he would have exploited his own resources to do so and not squandered the bishopric's. Much later, in 1024, Baldwin used the opportunity of Henry II's death to try to build fortifications in Cambrai for himself, corrupted, so the *Gesta*'s author says, by Walter's deceits. Finally, in a section of the *Gesta* written in the early 1050s, Gerard is said to have resisted Walter's attempts in 1034/35 to follow in the footsteps of the Peace of God movement and have everyone swear to keep the peace, until he is put under pressure by Baldwin. This drama takes place in Douai, and the Peace is eventually declared somewhere on the border of the dioceses of Arras and Cambrai. Notably, the *Gesta* omit to mention that Hugh, the castellan of Douai, was married to Walter II's daughter Adela.¹⁰⁴ This may well be simple oversight – Hugh does not figure in the *Gesta* at all – but it may also be an attempt to play down just how unwillingly Gerard acted and thereby increase the appearance of his magnanimity in giving in to Baldwin. Walter's cross-border contacts are here perhaps suppressed to show Gerard's political compromise in a better light, although it was in truth extracted by his enemy in part by the clever use of geography. Thus Baldwin was a known threat, but also a potential (or necessary) ally. His misdemeanours are therefore depicted in the best possible light, as lapses of judgment, and where Gerard is forced to give in to enemies, his actions are portrayed as those of someone compromising with the count.

In the *Gesta*'s depiction both of Charles of Lotharingia and of Baldwin IV of Flanders the authorial concern to come to moral judgments of their behaviour is

¹⁰⁴ Brassart, *Histoire du château*, vol 1, pp.52-57.

obviously related to the episcopal right of excommunication addressed in the previous chapter. So long as political legitimacy was simultaneously moral legitimacy, the bishops' prerogative of binding and loosing became the last instance of authority. Yet the *Gesta* do not explicitly make such a claim. Instead they are firmly royalist in outlook. Further, the spiritual powers of the diocesan do not explain the national stereotypes which, running through the work, take us to the moralising heart of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium's* political discourse.

* * *

To elucidate the peculiarities of what, for want of a better phrase, I call the *Gesta's* 'identity politics', I turned to modern studies of nationalism. I did this not because I think that modern nationalism existed in the eleventh century, but because it is in the vast literature on this subject that the connections between ethnic identity and political allegiance have been worked out in most detail. I will first investigate the modern debate around the nature of nationalism,¹⁰⁵ and then discuss one approach, which, while flawed, deals with the differences between pre-modern and modern constructs in such a way as to suggest a solution for our problem.

The current modernist orthodoxy, as elaborated by, amongst others, Elie Kedourie, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and, if slightly differently, Benedict Anderson holds that nations, national identity and nationalism are products of modern, industrial conditions, where the growth of the state and of primary education taught individuals of all classes that they were part of one, ethnically- or culturally-defined group to which they owed allegiance whereas in fact the required allegiance was to the

¹⁰⁵ I owe much here to the overview by Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History. Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover N.H., 2000).

state itself. The unreality of the nation is a key component of this argument: the modernist thesis can be said to have gained popularity as a left-wing and Marxist reaction to the horrors of early twentieth-century European nationalism. Yet to a certain extent this reaction is misplaced. Fascism and Nazism were themselves modernist projects, in the creation of national consciousness as in other respects.¹⁰⁶ Both Fascist/Futurist and Marxist conceptions of nationhood are instead better understood by reference to nineteenth-century primordialism, the former cynically manipulating it in the service of the state, the latter deconstructing it as a new opiate of the masses.

The primordialist position was the 'common sense' attitude of the nineteenth century. In this view, there was something essential about being English, French or German which was passed on through the generations. History was largely the story of the fruition of these identities. More recently, a cultural primordialism has been posited by, for example, Clifford Geertz. In trying to explain the viciousness of some conflicts of national identity in the new postcolonial states, Geertz pointed to the need for groups to have their 'primordial' identities confirmed and recognised by new state structures and bureaucracies.¹⁰⁷ Anthony D. Smith has criticised such a viewpoint as not being explanatory, and instead as only identifying part of the *explanandum*.¹⁰⁸ Yet the

¹⁰⁶ Mussolini was quite aware of the state's role: 'It is not the nation which generates the state; that is an antiquated naturalistic concept which afforded a basis for XIXth century publicity in favor of national governments. Rather, it is the state which creates the nation, conferring volition and therefore real life on a people made aware of their moral unity', quoted in Pecora, *Nations and Identities*, p.4. Mussolini started his political career as a socialist. Note the emphasis on 'real' life.

¹⁰⁷ Clifford Geertz, 'The Integrative Revolution', *passim*. Axel Honneth's similar theories of individual identity formation as a struggle for recognition start from early Hegel, quoting Aristotle: 'The nation [where Hegel writes *Volk* and Aristotle *polis*] comes by nature before the individual. If the individual in isolation is not anything self-sufficient, he must be related to the whole nation in one unity, just as other parts are to their whole', quoted in Axel Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*, tr. Joel Anderson (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1995), p.14.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, *The Nation in History*, pp.24-25.

existence of primordial communal, if not national, sentiment as such is easily explained. In order to thrive, human beings, as the least instinctual animals, need to know that their learned behaviour (their culture) will continue to be valid in the imagined future. Such behaviour is learned (and known to be learned) in childhood from family, neighbours, authorities as well as sometimes being associated with a specific mother tongue or sacred language. Thus, as Regino of Prüm understood, descent, territory, law and language are all possible factors in the learning of culture, although none is necessary and any might be sufficient conditions. Meanwhile, national sensitivities are aroused when these perceived vectors of learned behaviour are threatened with a change that might leave the individual alienated from his or her own environment and thereby less able to flourish.¹⁰⁹

As Geertz pointed out, such threats are likely to occur under the pressures of the modern state system (especially in respect of language choice for a necessarily standardised bureaucracy), since the modern state represents an unprecedentedly massive intrusion into the organisation of daily life.¹¹⁰ Despite Geertz's advocacy of cultural primordialism, the modernist thesis would therefore seem to offer the easiest answer to why such undeniable primordial sentiments are expanded to such a great, some say unreal or imagined, degree, since it is in modern times that the homogenization of culture and the merging of public and private spheres around national icons becomes possible.¹¹¹ Similarly, by allowing for primordial sentiments and attributing 'merely' their generalization to modernity, we allow for postcolonial

¹⁰⁹ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), pp.96-97.

¹¹⁰ Geertz, 'The Integrative Revolution', pp.281-82.

¹¹¹ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1870. Programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, 1990), p.46 and pp.141-43.

critics, who see the modernists' arguments as Eurocentric and unnecessarily bleak.¹¹² The resulting Geertzian model of a 'real' community faced with incorporation into an 'imagined' one is nevertheless only a partial answer. In particular, it does not account for the medieval nationalism this study seeks to elucidate.

The so-called cultural or linguistic turn has contributed to the acceptance of the modernist position. We are more aware now than ever of the contingency of identity construction, of the ease with which apparently ancient traditions are invented. This approach has even begun to filter into journalism, especially regarding the Rwandan and Yugoslavian conflicts.¹¹³ Still, there has always been a tension between the two assumptions, between the modernity and malleability of nationhood. Whereas the former is used to reject 'ancient hatred' theories of the causes of modern genocide, and to place the blame on identifiable and therefore publicly punishable leaders, the latter implies that nations were and are always being created. Thus a recent book on

¹¹² Thus Anthony D. Smith's acid, and untrue, comment that the modernist thesis is put forward by Westerners, 'whose identities are rarely questioned and who have never known exile or subjugation of land and culture, [and] have little need to trace their 'roots' in order to establish a unique and recognizable identity. Yet theirs is only an implicit and unarticulated form of what elsewhere must be shouted from the roof-tops: 'We belong, we have a unique identity, we know it by our ancestry and history.'" *Ethnic Origins*, p.2. Kedourie, Gellner and Hobsbawm were or are all Jewish, the former from colonial Iraq, the latter two respectively Franco-Czech and Anglo-Austrian refugees from Nazism; see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2nd ed., vol.31, pp.13-14 for Kedourie and vol.21, pp.736-37 for Gellner. For Hobsbawm, see his autobiography, *Interesting Times. A Twentieth-Century Life* (London, 2002), esp. pp.21-25.

¹¹³ Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: stories from Rwanda* (New York, 1998), pp.48-62; for both Rwanda and Yugoslavia, see the articles cited by Patrick Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489-554* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.17-18, n.10. For a subtler approach to this issue by journalists, see Laura Silber and Allan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia* (London, 1995), who argue a 'primordialist' position regarding Serbs and Croats (pp.29-31, 87-88) but a 'modernist' one in respect of (the seemingly contradictory) 'Muslim' nationalism: p.331.

Ostrogothic ethnogenesis made explicit, although in my view spurious, comparisons with Yugoslavia.¹¹⁴

I referred to tension, but deliberately not to contradiction. For it is not the modernists' contention that Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities' in general were a modern invention. On the contrary, Eric Hobsbawm devotes a chapter of his book *Nations and Nationalism* to what he rather clumsily describes as 'proto-nationalism'. According to Hobsbawm, proto-nationalism concentrates itself around religion on the one hand and kingship and empire on the other.¹¹⁵ It is said to differ from modern nationalism in a number of respects: it excludes the categories of language and ethnicity,¹¹⁶ and while it could be popular, its central icons were elitist. The mass of the peasantry, as Hobsbawm cuttingly remarks, was expected to show, 'obedience and tranquillity, not loyalty or zeal.'¹¹⁷ Anthony D. Smith, meanwhile, one of the modernists' leading critics, refers to what seems to be the same phenomenon, but labels it with the French term *ethnie*. For Smith, an *ethnie* is '*a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of shared culture, a link with a homeland, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites* [original emphasis].' It differs from the modern nation in centring on ancestry myths and historical memories, whereas the latter always has a homeland and a mass public culture, precluding the restriction to the élite common in *ethnie*.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Amory, *ibid.*, pp.17-18.

¹¹⁵ Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism*, pp.67-79.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.51-67. Note that regarding ethnicity, Hobsbawm allows for some 'extremely rare' cases where a state is composed of an ethnically homogeneous population, for example China, Korea and Japan: *idem*, p.66. These states may be of a rare type, but they are also too large to be dismissed, although their homogeneity, especially in the case of the Chinese empire, can be exaggerated.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.75.

¹¹⁸ Smith, *The Nation in History*, p.65. This is an elaboration of the concept introduced in *Ethnic Origins*, and defined there at pp.32 and 42.

Thus both authors describe similar phenomena, but Hobsbawm demotes them to the status of forerunners to the more important modern developments and Smith makes them central to historical development, with modern nationalisms just being variations on an old story. The reason for these differing conclusions lies in the different approaches of the two scholars. Hobsbawm refuses to define what he means by 'nation', instead defining *nationalism* as Gellner did: as 'primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent', but for Hobsbawm with the important proviso, included specifically to differentiate it from proto-nationalism, that duty to the polity is expected to override all other public duties, and even any duty in extreme cases such as war.¹¹⁹ At all points Hobsbawm is thus talking of the ideology which Smith too accepts as modern.¹²⁰ Smith does not allow himself such an easy way out. It is a key element in his argument that *ethnie*, while not necessarily demotic, could be so.¹²¹ Alongside the 'lateral and extensive' aristocratic *ethnie* (for instance the Franks) is to be found the 'vertical and intensive' demotic version, including the Sumerians, Ancient Greeks, Jews, Mongols, late medieval Magyars and Swiss.¹²² The difference is manifested in two distinct '*mythomoteurs*' or 'myth-symbol complexes', the one dynastic, the other communal. It is this 'myth-symbol complex' then, which provides the means for expanding the primordial communal sentiment to the wider polity, especially insofar as it is mediated by an organised, and preferably exclusive religion.

¹¹⁹ Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism*, p.9. Elsewhere Hobsbawm describes nationalism as the equation 'nation = state = people': *idem*, p.19. This echoes Hitler's dictum, 'ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer': *idem*, p.179.

¹²⁰ Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, p.18.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp.70-72.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp.77-79; *idem*, *Nation in History*, p.72. The reasons behind these choices lie in the kinds of society Smith believe create demotic *ethnie*: city-states, frontier polities and tribal societies.

The argument that under certain circumstances, such as that of a nomad tribe, ethnicity, culture and polity might coincide, is hardly controversial especially if sentiment is said to be restricted to the élite, or even the male élite. Yet precisely because Smith is trying to define a nation, and not an ideology or 'bundle of attitudes', he is forced to add a demographic element which he concedes is 'important but secondary to the cultural.'¹²³ So that this demographic element can make sense, since populations obviously change over time, Smith resorts to a theory of national essentialism where although individual symbols may change within a nation's 'myth-symbol complex', the 'style' or 'form' of, say, England remains quintessentially English down the ages.¹²⁴ Thus the tautological trap inherent in talking of nations (as opposed to nationalism, proto- or otherwise), which both Hobsbawm and Smith perceive and Hobsbawm avoids by refusing to define 'nation', catches Smith in the end.¹²⁵

For our purposes, nonetheless, there is a way out if we observe how Smith's addition of the demographic element leads him to downplay the significance of class divisions within a polity and to neglect the internal dynamic of lateral, aristocratic – and 'extensive' rather than 'intensive' – *ethnie*. While we might want to follow Hobsbawm in not defining nation, the acceptance of aristocratic 'nationalism' does nothing to elucidate the role that such an ideology might serve in a class-based polity. The modernists may well be right in arguing that the peasantry knew little and cared less about the polity and nation they inhabited, but as I will try to show, that does not mean the peasantry (or more precisely, the imperative to rule them) had no effect on the

¹²³ Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, p.97.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.14-16, 97. See his comment on p.83 on how a lateral *ethnie*'s sacred aspect is 'part of their defining 'essence'.'

¹²⁵ For tautology: Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, pp.7-8; Smith, *ibid.*, p.100.

aristocrats. In pursuing this question, the theories of Benedict Anderson, while flawed in some respects, prove useful, since unlike many modernists Anderson is less interested in debunking nationalism as 'bad history' and more concerned to investigate how such communities are creatively 'imagined'.¹²⁶ Such an approach is ideally suited to the textual analysis attempted here.

In marked contrast to Hobsbawm, Anderson defines 'nation', although not nationalism, quite clearly. Anderson's nations are imagined as, although without necessarily being, territorially limited, ideally sovereign, horizontal comradeships. But what is the *Karlenses – Lotharienses* dialectic in the *Gesta* if it is not a conflict over rulership (in Anderson's terms, sovereignty) involving geographically distinct peoples at a certain site, in this case Cambrai? In addition, Anderson also argues that the very topography of rulership is different in the pre-modern world. He points out that in modern states 'sovereignty' is taken to be evenly divided over the territory in question. A government has just as much claim to a square metre on its border as to one in its centre. Anderson compares this with an earlier kind of state, which he thinks to be defined by a dynastic centre whose edges are then left vague and porous. Nonetheless, as the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* show, the edges of the Empire may well be untidy to a modern eye, but they most certainly do not 'fade imperceptibly into each other.'¹²⁷ On the contrary, the border with West Francia in particular plays a key role in the narrative. We have already seen how Reginar and Lambert take refuge in the Vermandois. Bishop Tetdo originally makes the elder Walter castellan to win help against the previous castellan, John, who was from the Vermandois and who turns to Adalbert for help when Tetdo succeeds in driving him out. Tetdo scores one of his few

¹²⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London, 1991), p.6, criticising Gellner.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.19.

successes when he destroys a castle Adalbert's son Otto dares to build at Gouy just over the border into the Empire. The Walter family itself comes from West Francia, and when the younger Walter takes control of the city before Gerard's arrival, the description of his actions is telling. He is said to have oppressed the citizens and not protected them from external predators.¹²⁸ Most interestingly, Walter is said to have enriched outsiders, with the express intention of increasing his reputation among foreigners.¹²⁹ The bishop of Cambrai's problem therefore is not an indistinct border but too many borders that do not fit each other.

But the existence of 'sovereign communities' existing side-by-side is not the central plank of Anderson's thesis. On the contrary, his ambition is nothing less than to describe a shift in the apprehension of time. In brief, Anderson posits a uniquely modern homogeneous empty time, along which the nations as imagined communities move simultaneously side-by-side.¹³⁰ Time itself has no wider significance – it is 'empty' because it is no more than the space in which history happens. It is from constructing a narrative which fills this procession along time with meaning that nationalism is supposed to draw its emotional power. This modern view of time is contrasted with the universalistic and teleological sacred time of premodern Christendom, which takes as its fixed point a heavenly hierarchy with God at the top. God's existence outside of time means that the significance of history is pre-set, and

¹²⁸ 'raptores exteri', *GeC*, I:120, p.454.

¹²⁹ 'Domesticos sane exsumptuabat, locupletabat alienigenas, ut per eorum scilicet predicationem in barbaros usque bonae opinionis gloriam propagaret.' *GeC*, I:120, p.454.

¹³⁰ Note there is a parallel here with the argument of Frantisek Graus that national identity consists of a feeling of equality with other, neighbouring peoples, even where their 'essences' may be different: *idem*, 'Kontinuität und Diskontinuität des Bewußtseins nationaler Eigenständigkeit im Mittelalter', in Hans-Jörg Gilomen, Peter Moraw and Rainer C. Schwinges (edd.), *Ausgewählte Aufsätze (1959-1989)* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp.65-72, first publ. in Peter Sture Ureland (ed.), *Entstehung von Sprachen und Völkern. Glotto- und ethnogenetische Aspekte europäischer Sprachen. Akten des 6. Symposiums über Sprachkontakt in Europa. Mannheim 1984* (Tübingen, Linguistische Arbeiten 162, 1985), p.70.

must only be revealed. The meaning of events past, present and future already exist in God. In this simultaneity along time, nothing is accidental, and nothing homogeneous. Everything has universal meaning, thus precluding nationness where certain events must be of restricted, 'national significance'. Such a conception is rooted, according to Anderson, in the universalist claims of the Church made in the universal language of Latin. Yet the Cambrai author's situating of his city in a universal Christian history does not so much replace his patriotism as carry it and give it meaning. Nor do the problems faced by the German-speaking Berengar and Tetdo say much for the unifying power of Latin: it certainly did not suffice to create a community with the francophone lay aristocracy of the Cambrésis and Artois. As for the claims of the Christian church, the *Gesta* occasionally reads as a litany of these claims being ignored or overridden. The author may see the younger Walter's occupation of the episcopal palace after the death of Bishop Gerard's predecessor as an indefensible usurpation, but the castellan may have seen it as the legitimate exercising of rights of *spolia*, the use of church goods during a vacancy. There are more examples. My point is simply that we can overestimate the contribution of Latinity and the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the ordering of the perceived world. Other claims could be and were made.

There is on the other hand an alternative model of state development that might rescue Anderson's thesis and prove helpful to our understanding of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, and that is the development of political discourse, or the public sphere.¹³¹ The question of public and private is a tricky one in medieval studies, and has been especially worked out in German scholarship. The poles between which the debate was to be conducted were set, unwittingly, by Jürgen Habermas in his 1962

¹³¹ The public sphere is something that Hobsbawm only see becoming relevant in the modern period: *Nations and nationalism*, pp.141-42. While it may have contributed to creating modern nationalism, that does not mean it was not also key to creating comparable loyalties in earlier forms.

work *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*.¹³² I say unwittingly because Habermas was not specifically interested in the Middle Ages – the medieval section of the book runs to roughly eight pages¹³³ – and the effect of his work took a couple of decades to make an impact on medieval studies. Habermas's ideas about the medieval public sphere were essentially drawn from Otto Brunner's, in which the state consisted of lordship inherent in people, more specifically heads of aristocratic households. There was therefore no difference between public and private. Habermas picked up this construct, and argued that pre-modern societies had only a so-called 'representative' or performative public sphere, where the authority of the king or lord was merely 'represented' to or performed for his subjects. Lordship, as Habermas puts it, was not performed for the people but before the people.¹³⁴ This contrasts with the 'bourgeois' or citizens' public sphere, which is synonymous with a permanent, 'other', state administration from which individuals can separate themselves by retreating into a 'private' sphere.¹³⁵

Rüdiger Brandt has pointed out the main weakness of the Habermas model: it does not allow for the failure of the performance of lordship. If the public sphere was exclusively for the performance of lordship and not for political discourse about that lordship, it is difficult to see what would happen if the performance went wrong.¹³⁶

¹³² Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, 1962).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp.14-22

¹³⁴ 'Solange der Fürst und seine Landstände das Land »sind«, statt es bloß zu vertreten, können sie in einem spezifischen Sinne repräsentieren; sie repräsentieren ihre Herrschaft, statt für das Volk, »vor« das Volk.', *ibid.*, p.17.

¹³⁵ Habermas links the shift to the development of long-distance mercantile networks that cannot be fitted into old vertical ties of dependence: *ibid.*, pp.24-37. The parallels with Anderson's Latin American colonial administrators as the shapers of a new political landscape are clear.

¹³⁶ Indeed, the question haunts debates on medieval political activity still. Gerd Althoff's model of the rules of the political game posits a strict separation of the public and the 'secret' to cover precisely this possibility. In his Middle Ages, it is the secret, private sphere in which the 'real' issues are negotiated so

Meanwhile Bernd Thum has pointed out that Habermas's construct does not work *within* the ruling class, or as Thum puts it, amongst the holders of rights of governance (*Herrschaftsrechte*). In this environment each holder of governmental rights must compete with others to uphold his own 'honour', and it is the peer group that creates the by no means merely performative public sphere. Thum's concentration on the ruling class allows us to answer Brandt's criticism of Habermas since in this formulation, the failure may take place among the holders of governmental rights without jeopardising the performance of power as a whole.

I would therefore contend that when Anderson contrasted the pre-modern state with a modern nation where 'sovereignty' was evenly distributed, he was using the right argument in the wrong context. Rights of governance are certainly unevenly distributed but this distribution is not, as Anderson would have it, topographical, but demographic or anthropological. It is the assumption of an equal stake in governance among community members that makes for the powerful feeling of fraternity in the modern nation. And it is this assumption that is markedly absent in the eleventh century. On the contrary, sovereignty is staggered according to how well-born an individual is. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* are utterly typical of their time in making a point of mentioning the high birth of both their heroes and villains.¹³⁷ The one exceptional case

that the performance can never fail; see, *inter alia*, 'Colloquium familiare – colloquium secretum – colloquium publicum. Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters', in *idem*, *Spielregeln*, (Darmstadt, 1997), pp.157-84 (first published in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* XXIV (1990), 145-67). In an article on the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, the young Hamburg historian Steffen Patzold criticizes precisely the alleged rigidity of this model, appealing for a looser understanding of medieval conflict resolution that would indeed allow for public failure; '...inter pagensium nostrorum gladios vivimus. Zu den "Spielregeln" der Konfliktführung in Niederlothringen zur Zeit der Ottonen und frühen Salier.', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanische Abteilung* CXVIII (2001), 58-99. It should be noted nevertheless that unlike Patzold, Althoff deals exclusively with the topmost level of rule: Althoff, *per. comm.*

¹³⁷ *GeC*, I:16, p.408; I:74, p.427; I:93, p.438; II:35, p.463; III:1, p.465.

proves, as it were, the rule. When the citizens of Cambrai rebel against Bishop Berengar, the author cannot decide whether this is ultimately due to the citizens' innate rebelliousness or to the bishops' arrogance about his high, in this case royal, birth.¹³⁸ So even where the 'proper' order breaks down, it is class that determines the terms within which responsibility is allocated.¹³⁹ This responsibility for the commonweal is very unevenly distributed. It is overwhelmingly members of the upper classes who have access not just to *de facto* rulership but also to the rights of rulership, and this contrasts with modern societies where citizens are considered, at least ideally, to be equally responsible for the state as a whole. Thus what we are seeing in the *Gesta* author's depiction of the *karlenses* is qualitatively different from modern forms of nationalism in that its 'nationalism' too is unevenly distributed, being applied to the political class.

Yet as the Berengar case also shows, as do many others in the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, the break-down of order is also invariably attributed to moral failings, in particular to deliberate evil rather than misunderstandings or systemic failure. This is where we must return to Habermas's performative public sphere and Smith's aristocratic *ethnie*. What we are seeing in the moralising tone of the chroniclers, not least that of Cambrai, is not only their religious training (although that is of course a large portion of the explanation), but also an attempt to maintain the integrity of a performative, aristocratic public sphere in the face of failure vis-à-vis the lower class. If aristocrats are constitutive of the state, then any failure of that state cannot be attributed to systemic flaws or even mistakes (since the class-state's failure to prevent mistakes is

¹³⁸ 'Quod autem tantas infestationes edebat, quod tantas inquietudines irrogabat, hoc nimirum non potius episcopi, quam insolentiis suorum civium possumus imputare, quos semper pre ferocitate inobedientes omnibus suis episcopis audivimus atque rebelles existere.' *GeC*, I:80, p.431.

¹³⁹ Note that this has nothing to do with feudalism, land tenure or military service, and does not preclude all 'horizontality'. See Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, c.8 'The Community of the Realm' for a non-feudal description of the medieval kingdom which, on the other hand, takes class for granted.

in itself a failure) but must be linked to individual ill-will so as to rescue the legitimacy of the class-state as a whole.¹⁴⁰ Thum is right to say that failure can take place among the holders of *Herrschaftsrechte*, but effort must be made to maintain those holders' rights to governance in the face of that failure, and the ascription of causation to evil has that effect. Thus for Ruotger and Thietmar the rebellions of the Lotharingians are signs of their instability of character.¹⁴¹ There did exist arguments for rebellion, but these too centred on moral qualities: the Lotharingians' refusal to be oppressed. As Fritz Kern saw, what was being upheld was no contractual relationship between king and aristocracy, but the separate obligations of both to what he called an *objektive Rechtsordnung* which existed outside and above them all.¹⁴² Unlike Kern, I would argue that the source of this objective 'legal' order was not Germanic tradition but the demands of maintaining class solidarity in the face of internal political competition.

It would also be misleading to follow Kern and oppose this Germanic legal order to an ecclesiastical one promoted by the reform Papacy. *Pace* Kern, there was no qualitative difference between ecclesiastical *oboedientia* and secular *fidelitas*.¹⁴³ It is to accept the premises of the Gregorian reformers to place them in a sacred and the king or emperor in a profane position. The Cambrai author, just like Benedict Anderson, places God at the top of the hierarchy of meaning, but at the top of the political discourse stands quite clearly the king, whether Henry II, Lothar II (for the Lotharingians) or Charles the Bald (for the 'Karlensians'). The king's authority is of course sacred in

¹⁴⁰ An essentially good aristocrat can of course be misled by another evil figure, such as his wife: Albert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum*, II:5, p.711.

¹⁴¹ See above, pp.194-95, 202.

¹⁴² Kern, *Gottesgnadentum*, pp.135-37, 152.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.152. The distinction Kern draws here is based on a letter of Wazo of Liège to Henry III, but Wazo is only distinguishing between his subjection to the emperor on secular matters and to the pope on ecclesiastical. The obedience is owed in different spheres but there is no indication of any difference in kind; see Anselm, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, II:58, p.224.

origin, but this is not a sufficient explanation for the *Gesta* author's insistence on the importance of royal authority. The fact that royal authority was considered sacred did not absolve Robert the Pious from criticism for being weak at a time when we know he was (for Cambrai, uncomfortably) strong.¹⁴⁴ Nor is it due just to any practical ability to intervene on their part, otherwise we would not expect to find kings such central figures in Cambrai. Instead the king guarantees the social order by, as it were, analogy. The power (*virtus*) or weakness (*imbecillitas*) of the king causes that of the social order because he embodies it existentially. Peoples are who they are and how they are because of their kings. The *Karlenses* are undisciplined because of their king's weakness. The *Lotharienses* are orderly because of their king's strength. Any ascription of systemic breakdown, like that which the *Gesta* author attributes to West Francia, is explained by reference to the personal moral failings of the king. While an individual aristocrat's errors can be dismissed as evil because there are always other aristocrats around to, as it were, take up the slack, this is not true of the king. When he fails, the polity fails. It is this, rather than any governmental model of an imperial church, or adherence to a central ideology, which best explains the prominence of East Frankish monarchy and of its appropriate '(proto-)nationalism' as the wider narrative into which the *Gesta* insert the history of their bishops and city.

¹⁴⁴ See above, pp.154-167.

CONCLUSION

In the first chapter, I traced Gerard's ancestry and delineated his background but questioned the value of placing him into modern historians' developmental models. In particular I rejected the notion that there was a single reform movement from the end of the tenth century, eventually culminating in the Investiture Contest, and to which Gerard must be aligned or opposed.

The second chapter described the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* and its autograph manuscript. Here, I suggested that the *Gesta* in fact betrays a double authorship, not just in the third book but in the previous two as well. I argued that the disjointed nature of the *Gesta*'s narrative – the failure to shape history into developmental arcs as historians of today do – did not betray a reliance on religious explanation as the only possible one. Instead it was demanded by the nature of manuscript technology, and allows us to assume a greater interpenetration of lay and clerical cultures than is at first sight apparent.

The third chapter picked up on issues raised in the first, but with specific reference to the so-called 'Peace of God movement' and Gerard's statement on the Three Orders. I was able to demonstrate that the hostility observable in the *Gesta* account has less to do with Gerard's alleged conservatism than with the interests of the church of Cambrai vis-à-vis Arras, France and Flanders. Moreover, the two accounts of Peace councils were written at different times but in similar political circumstances. Thus the *Gesta* represent not, or not only, the personal view of Gerard, and certainly not a standpoint on a pro- or anti-reform spectrum, but the institutional view of the cathedral conditioned by its geo-political place rather than ideological period.

In the last chapter I dealt with issues of nationality and political loyalty, both in the *Gesta* and in the works of modern historians. I showed that it is not possible to explain the political loyalties of the *Gesta* by reference to contrasting cultures or political structures in West Francia/France and East Francia/the Empire. Instead the *Gesta*'s pre-determined political loyalty – Cambrai was, after all, in the Empire – determined the characterisation of the West Franks, here known as the Karlensians, as 'other'. Nor was this xenophobia found to be of the same nature as its modern counterparts. In contrast, the *Gesta*'s view of politics is implicitly class-based, and this in turn requires the upholding of class interests vis-à-vis those outside the charmed circle. This is achieved by blaming political failure on individual immorality rather than structural weakness, and most spectacularly on the failure of the king. Thus this chapter partly answers a question raised in the second, where the repeated resorting to moral explanations for historical change had been stripped of its explanation in *Heilsgeschichte*.

If I were to draw one, single, over-arching conclusion out of these chapters, it would be the superior explanatory power of place over period (or, more accurately, periodisation). Gerard's upbringing in Rheims and promotion of Richard of St-Vanne's reform make no sense within a developmental model of increasing monastic and Cluniac reform against a secular church. The *Gesta*'s two redactions display similar ideological biases despite one being written after Gerard's death, thus the ideas are to be traced to the institution rather than its temporary head. The conflicts between Gerard and the promoters of peace oaths are best explained politically rather than by reference to a partisan of an old order resisting the inexorable rise of a new. The caricature of the *karlenses* is not a function of the differing coherence of political structures in the West and East in the early eleventh century. Instead,

it is a sign of the *Gesta* author falling back on traditional, moralising topoi with their roots in the defence of the pan-European and pan-medieval class-state to explain a political threat conjured by Cambrai's frontier position.

By emphasising the specificity of Cambrai and its *Gesta*, I distinguish my work from predecessors which concentrated either on the literary genre of *Gesta episcoporum* or *abbatum* or on the history of a diocese. In the latter category I take as an example Jean-Louis Kupper's *Liège et l'église impériale*. Kupper does not study the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium* as such, but uses it to reconstruct the history of the diocese of Liège. The diocese, however, has no given historical significance as a unit of study, so Kupper is forced to place his study in a preconstructed historical model, that of the 'imperial church'. Here we see writ small the same problem that plagues the *Annales* school as a whole. It is no coincidence that only one *annaliste* has seriously undermined the mutation model proposed by Duby. Insofar as the local study depends on the overall picture for its claims, it is that much less likely to be able to question that picture and more likely to reinforce it.

In theory, a historian (*annaliste* or otherwise) poses a question and seeks an answer from whatever extant sources are deemed to be relevant. The procedure is based on the scientific one of hypothesis and testing, and is central to traditional positivist research. This is not how this study has proceeded. Instead, I have concentrated on one source and examined a variety of issues through the lens it provides. By doing so, I am participating in a growing field of early medieval studies, which takes individual authors and their works and looks at them not only to establish their reliability but also, so far as possible, to reconstruct the internal logic of their works irrespective of how accurately they reflect 'how it actually was'.

This is not of course to argue that previous work ignored the subjectivity of the sources. On the contrary, the Rankean approach on which academic history was founded, and on which it is still largely based, was extremely concerned with assessing individual sources. Nonetheless this assessment was on the grounds of accuracy: the question was whether the author had got his facts right, or had been mistaken or actively mendacious. Thus we might compare each source to the witness to a crime, whose testimony was to be weighed according to his (the source was almost invariably male) ability to know the truth and willingness to impart it. Yet a more telling comparison would be to a scientific experiment. It was believed that by assessing the rigour and honesty of each source the modern historian might make the text reflect an objective reality. The progressive assessment of more sources, as well as the identification of mistakes in the previous assessment of known ones, would ultimately lead to an objective history of the world. A source that failed to report honestly was condemned in much the same way one might condemn a scientist who made claims based on careless experimentation or who faked his results. At best, medieval authors who failed to meet modern standards were condemned as naïve, at worst as stupid or vicious.

Developments in literary studies of the last thirty years, what is often crudely referred to as the 'linguistic/cultural turn', have shifted historians' attention somewhat. Rather than being valued for how accurately they report reality, authors and their texts are now assessed on what is often called 'their own terms'. The fact that the terms can never really have been theirs and must always be the historian's is openly acknowledged. The phrase means that the (here, medieval) author is not to be judged as good or bad according to modern standards, in particular modern scientific standards. Instead, the writing of the

text and the view it gives us is treated as a historical event in itself in need of elucidation. An author such as Richer of Rheims, much studied in the past because he is the only narrative source of West Frankish politics for much of the late tenth century, but also much condemned because he meets few or none of the criteria of a modern historian, has been in a position to benefit most from these developments.

The difference between just elucidating a text and explaining it as well may be taken as a short-hand for the difference between more extreme positions represented by proponents of the 'linguistic turn' and more moderate ones, amongst whose defenders I count myself. According to the former claims, a word's meaning is only to be deciphered in terms of other words, rather than also external realities. This is perfectly acceptable if you are studying texts alone, as is the case with most literary scholars (although even here, this demands an emphasis on hermeneutics over aesthetics and philology). If, on the other hand, historians have a responsibility to explain as well as elucidate, whether that involves explaining the circumstances of the text itself or using that text to explain the history to which it bears witness, such a claim does not pass muster. The assumption of an objective reality beyond the text – and of its accessibility through the text, however indirectly – is central to the historical project precisely because it is this assumption that allows for explanation rather than just infinitely repeated redescription. This is the function that Rankean positivism fulfils, and will continue to fulfil, within the historical methodology, and if I were to point to the difference between my approach here and the one I took in my MA thesis on Alpert of Metz's *De diversitate temporum*, it would be to this rediscovery of positivism after some time believing that the deciphering of narrative through literary theory alone could lead to historical insight.

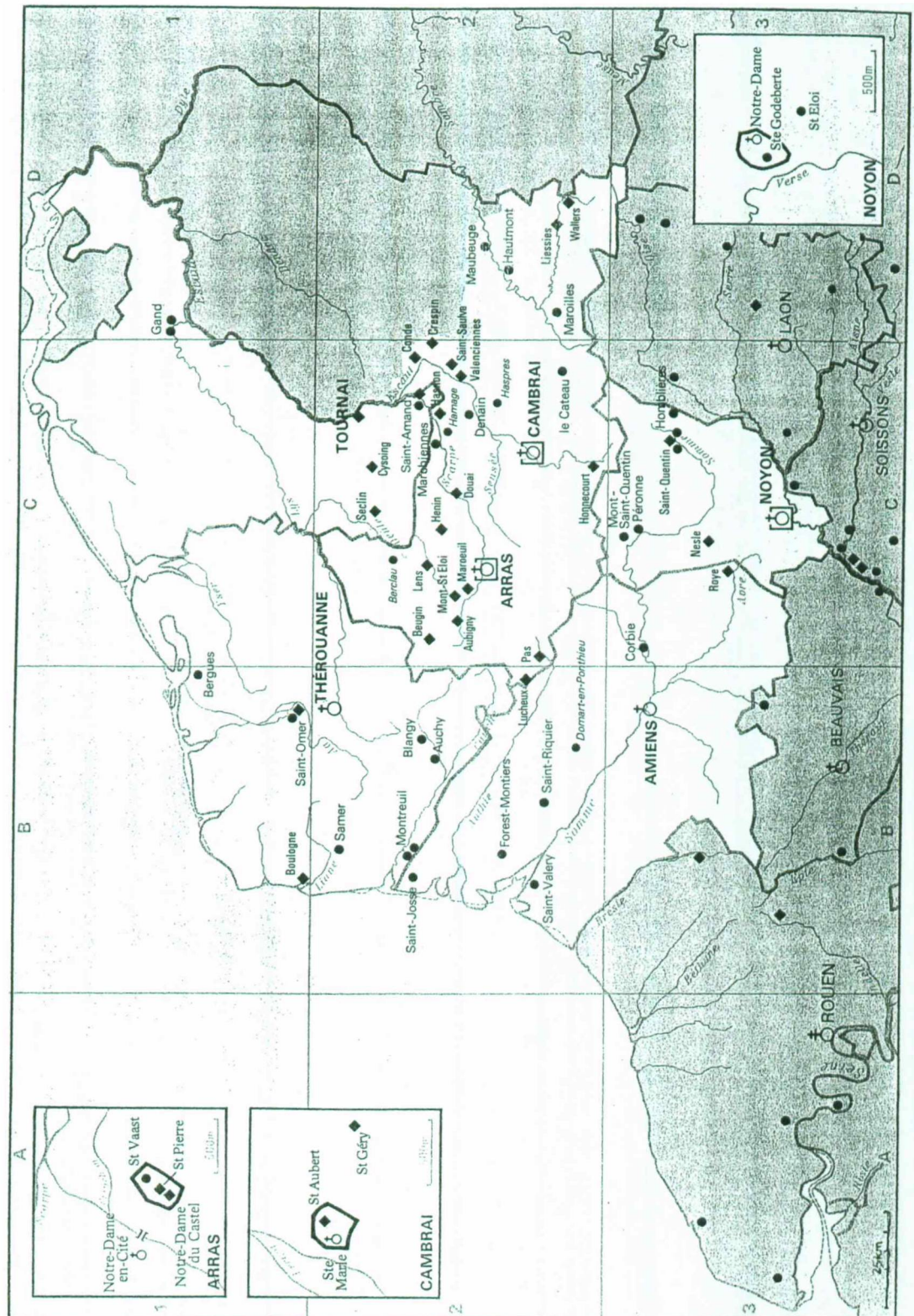
In the end, then, I am perhaps arguing for a more thoroughgoing positivism than before. The distinction I drew between elucidation and explanation is not meant to suggest that elucidation is somehow irrelevant and that historians must simply return to pre-‘linguistic turn’ approaches.¹ Instead, I have argued against the *alt*-positivist tendency to identify the segments of a narrative relevant to their pre-composed question and remove them from their compositional context and attempted a *neu*-positivist approach which tries to elucidate a source as far as possible before moving on to the ultimate explanatory stage. The curse of the early medieval historian – the scarcity of sources – is in this respect a blessing: Gerard’s generation is the very last for which it might be possible to systematically study every narrative source in detail before trying to piece a broader narrative together.² Whereas the old positivist claim to always start with the sources was misleading (they actually started with a question (*Fragestellung*) and parameters (*Untersuchungsrahmen*) and only then moved on to certain sources), I am suggesting we take that claim seriously and *in fact* start with the sources. If this dissertation serves any purpose to future researchers who consult it, I would want it therefore to firstly act as a warning against mining the *Gesta* for individual episodes without taking account of the circumstances of their composition. Secondly, I would hope that this would be a study to add to the others coming out on individual authors and their works that together will one

¹ For the most recent discussion of these issues, see Peter Mandler, ‘The Problem with Cultural History’, *Cultural and Social History* I (2004), 94-117, which was followed by a bad-tempered and unenlightening debate in later numbers of the same volume.

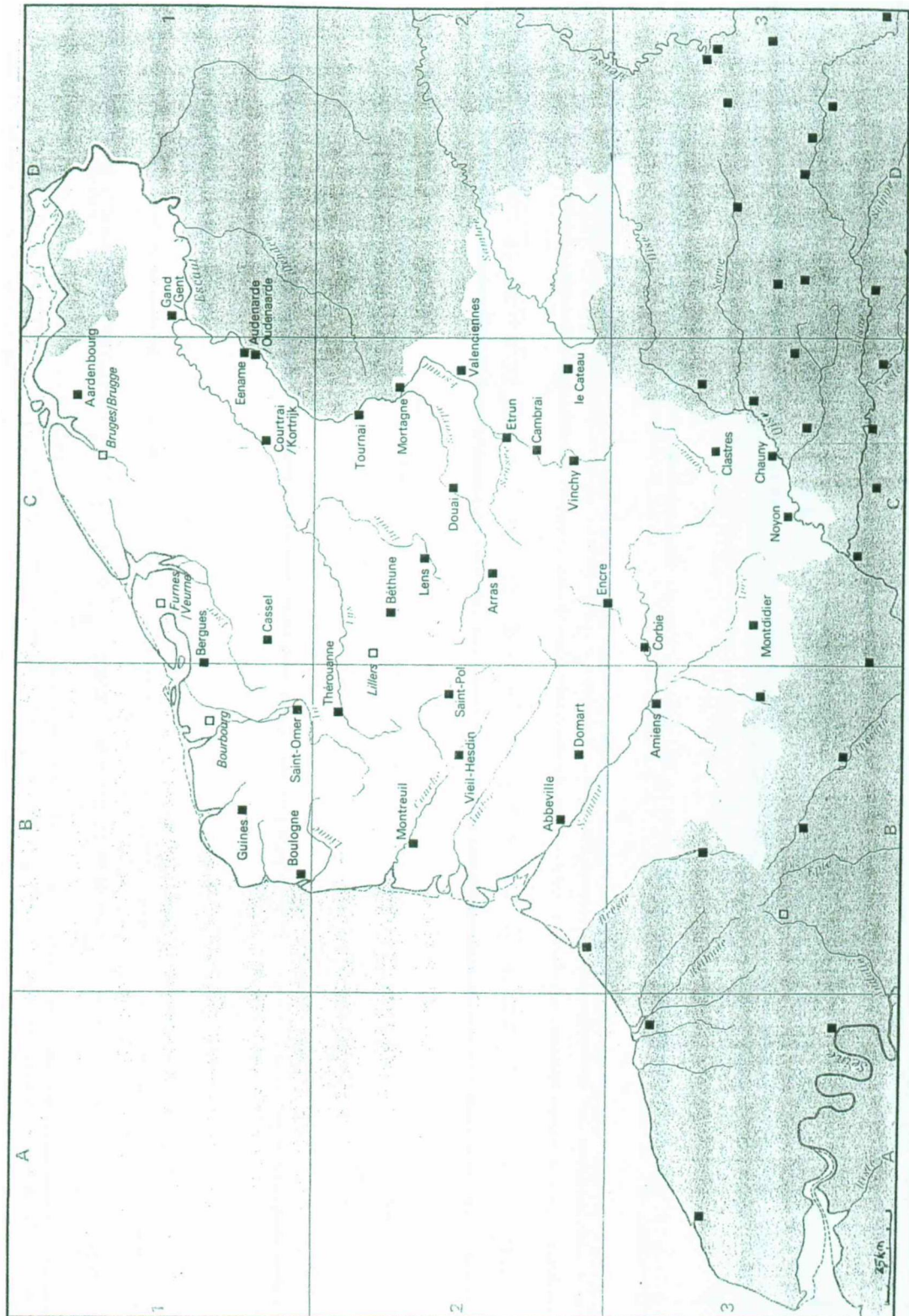
² Judging from the catalogue of narrative sources for the history of the Low Countries collated by the University of Ghent, most are from the mid- or, especially, late eleventh century: http://allserv.rug.ac.be/~jdploige/sources/uk_frdatabank.html. The circumstances of the composition of many of the earlier texts will not be more closely identifiable.

day allow us to reconstruct the history of this period on more thorough foundations. German scholars use the metaphor of blocks of stone when describing the old positivist approach: the historian would hew chunks out of his sources and then assemble them in the manner of his choosing. I have tried to examine the *Gesta* as a block in and of itself, and trace the contours of this one source from a variety of angles. Knowledge of its shape will help us to fit it against other sources once their shapes are known and construct a historical architecture that does less violence to our subjects' legacy.

Map 1: Religious Communities in and around the Diocese of Cambrai-Arras c.1000
 (from Michel Parisse (ed.), *Atlas de la France de l'An Mil* (Paris, 1994), p.19.)

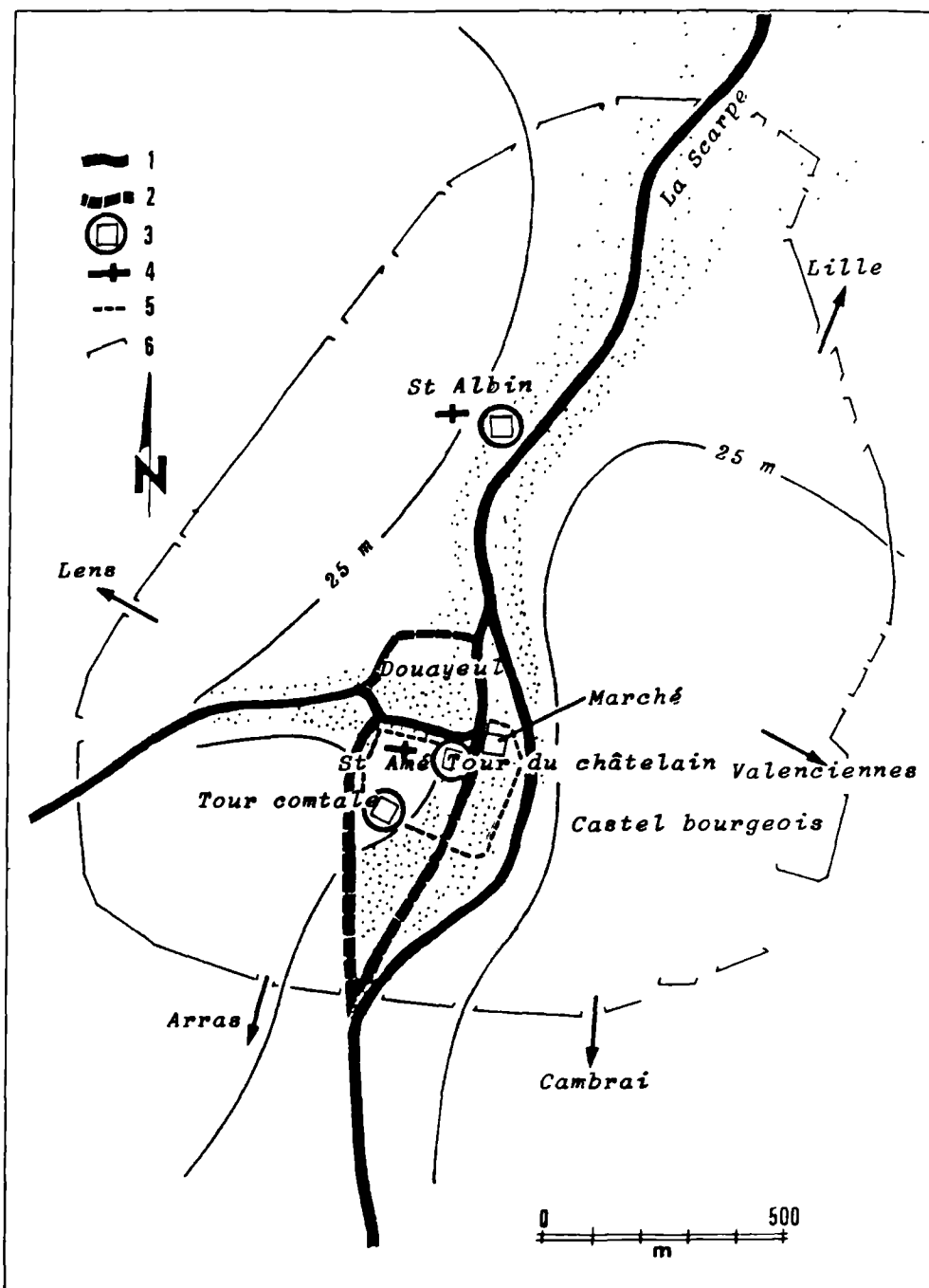


Map 2: Fortified Sites in and around the Diocese of Cambrai-Arras c.1000
 (from Michel Parisse (ed.), *Atlas de la France de l'An Mil* (Paris, 1994), p.21.)



Map 4: Douai c.1000

(from Pierre Demolon, 'Douai vers l'an Mil', in Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral I Altet (eds), *Le roi de France et son royaume autour l'an Mil* (Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987-1987, La France de l'an Mil, Paris-Senlis, 22-25 juin 1987, Paris, 1992), p.176.)



1 Douai à la fin du X^e siècle 1 cours d'eau naturel, 2 cours d'eau artificiel, 3 tour fortifiée 4 église, 5 rempart
6 limites des boulevards actuels.

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